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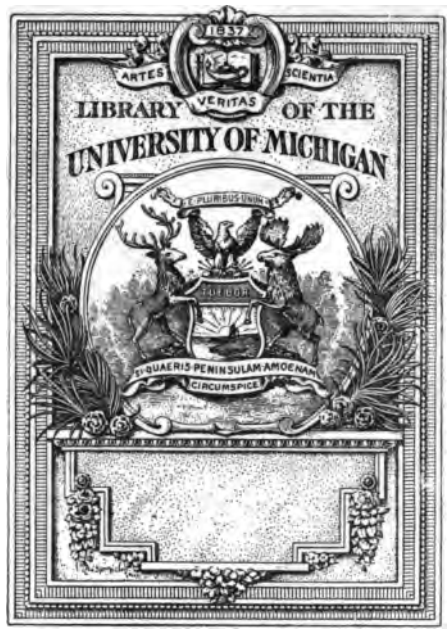
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THE

# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

# JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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AND

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., TREAS.R.S., F.S.A.,
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S.,
AND
BARCLAY V. HEAD.

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# CONTENTS.

## ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.


Page

On some Rare Greek Coins. By the Rev. Canon Greenwell, F.R.S., F.S.A. . . . . 1

Notice sur une Monnaie de Tarente au revers de laquelle on a cru voir un Personnage plaçant un fer au pied d'un cheval. Par Dr. Al. Colson, de Noyon . . . . 15

The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts. By Edward Thomas, Esq., F.R.S. . . . . 18

Ares as a Sun-god, and Solar Symbols on the Coins of Macedon and Thrace. By Percy Gardner, M.A. . . 49

On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Ephesus. By Barclay V. Head . . . . . 85

On some Coins of Syria and Bactria. By Percy Gardner, M.A. . . . . 181

On some Recent Discoveries of Illyrian Coins. By Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A. . . . . 269

On a Himyaritic Tetradrachm and the Trésor de San'â. By Barclay V. Head . . . . . 303

Les Médailles ordinairement attribuées à Livie, etc. Par Dr. Al. Colson, de Noyon . . . . . 311


294253

## ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Page

The Iron Money of the Japanese. By James White, Esq., F.G.S. . . . . 174

A Scheme of the Mohammadan Dynasties during the Khalifate. By S. Lane-Poole, Esq. . . . . 262

The Coinage of the Decline of the Mongols in Persia. By General A. Houtum-Schindler . . . . . 320

---

## MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

On Silver Coins of Eanred and Ethelred II., of Northumbria. By Major A. B. Creeke . . . . . 62

Coins of the Stafford Mint. By the Rev. Canon Assheton Pownall, F.S.A. . . . . 66

Critical Remarks on the Uncertain Coins of the Cuerdale Find. By Herr S. Bergsöe . . . . . 192

The Stamford Mint.—Supplement. By Samuel Sharp, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S. . . . . 205

Some Further Notes upon "Penny of Cnut the Great: a Rectification." By Prof. C. F. Herbst. With a Note by Henry W. Henfrey, Esq. . . . . 226

Unpublished Yorkshire Tokens of the Seventeenth Century, with Contemporary Notes on some of the Issuers of Hull and other Towns. By H. S. Gill, Esq. . . . . 234

Notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland. No. V. By R. W. Cochran-Patrick, Esq., F.S.A.Scot. . . . . 253

On some Early and Modern Tokens bearing the Names of Hoare, &c. By Captain Edward Hoare . . . . 332

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Page

Zeitschrift für Numismatik . . . . . 177

Numismatische Zeitschrift . . . . . 179

Mélanges de Numismatique . . . . . 180

## MISCELLANEA.

Irish Coins minted at Bristol . . . . . 74

Unpublished Annulet Groat of Henry V. or VI. . . . . 75

Notice of Coins found at Baconsthorpe . . . . . 75

Sale of Coins . . . . . 77

Notices of Sales of Coins, Medals, &c., during 1879 and 1880. 80, 337

Lamia . . . . . 268

The Copper Coinage of Sarawak . . . . . 336

# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

## I.

### ON SOME RARE GREEK COINS.

I HAVE thought it might be interesting to the members of the Numismatic Society to bring under their notice some coins in my collection which, on account of their beauty or rarity, seem to deserve to be adequately represented by figures. This has been done on the plate which accompanies the following notes, where the autotype process has been adopted. This mode of representation is one much better than any, even the most accurate, engraving, inasmuch as the coin is shown exactly as it is, and does not suffer as an artistic work by being translated through the mind, eye, and hand of another than the original designer. It is much to be desired that in the future catalogues of the coins in the national collection this process should be made use of in all cases, as it has already been in that of the Seleucid Kings of Syria.

RHEGIUM.

*Obv.*—Lion's head, facing. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Head of Apollo to right, with wreath of a triple row of serrated leaves; behind head an olive spray of two leaves. ΡΗΓΙΝΟΝ.

Æ. 6¼. 264 grs.

This coin, of a well-known type, merits being figured

on account of its artistic qualities and of its perfect state of preservation. It is in the grandest style and of the best period of Magna-Grecian art. Though there is somewhat of the severity of archaic work still remaining, there is no feebleness, and the head of Apollo is modelled with great knowledge and skill. In many of the fine coins of this type there is a want of character and expression about the face which much detracts from their beauty. In this coin, however, the firmness of the mouth and the slight outward curve of the nose quite redeem it from that defect. The leaves of the wreath, in which the serrated edge is represented by a row of minute dots, are certainly not of laurel; they may be those of the arbutus. The same peculiarity is found in the wreath on the full-faced head of Apollo on the tetradrachm of Catana which has the name of the god under the neck.

## Eryx.

*Obv.*—Aphrodite, partly fronting, seated to left on a stool, on her extended right hand a dove, with raised wings, to right; her left hand hangs down her side; she wears long chiton and peplos over her knees. Eros standing to right in front raises his right hand towards her. EPVKINON. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Quadriga to right, driven by male charioteer, horses galloping; he holds goad in right and reins in left hand. Nike, draped, flying to left, is about to crown him with a wreath. Two lines in exergue.

Æ. 6¾. 264·2 grs.

This tetradrachm of Eryx is unpublished. Mionnet (quoting Du Mersan), Suppl. i. 386, gives a description of a coin from a false die, which has been copied on the

obverse from the true coin, but from a coin of Syracuse, of the quadriga type, with an ear of barley in the exergue, on the reverse.

Though there is much elegance of design in the composition of the obverse—the figure of Aphrodite bearing a strong resemblance to that of Nike on some of the beautiful coins of Terina—there is, nevertheless, a certain hardness of execution, reminding us of the work of the gem engraver. On the reverse also there is a degree of stiffness in the horses which indicates a want of mastery in the power of depicting strong action, and which, perhaps, points to a period before the highest development of art as applied to the engraving of dies.

On some of the smaller coins of Eryx there is a seated female figure holding a dove, and having on the reverse a dog. Eckhel suggests that the person represented may be Segesta, daughter of Phoenodamas, and mother, by the river Crimisus, under the form of a dog, of Egestes, the mythical founder of Eryx. There can, however, be no doubt that the figure is that of Aphrodite, whose temple on the summit of Mount Eryx obtained a great and wide celebrity. The town of Eryx, situated some distance from the sea and on the west coast of Sicily, never attained to the same importance and wealth as the maritime towns of the east and south coasts, and hence the great scarceness of the larger denominations of coins, and, indeed, the infrequency of coins of any description of this city.

### Abdera.

*Obv.*—Griffin with rounded wing seated to left, the feathers on the wings not represented; the farther foreleg is raised. In front ΙΑ and a figure, consisting of a dot surrounded by a circle of smaller ones. Border of dots.

been set in a ring or pin, and has, in consequence, been reduced in size and weight. Mionnet (i. 433, Suppl. vol. ii. Pl. VIII. 5, 6) has published two gold coins from the French cabinet, one of which, except that the head is that of the older Dionysos, closely resembles the coin under notice, though, like the Ivanoff one, it has grapes in place of the club.

The types of the head of Dionysos and of Herakles on the coins of Thasos are common to nearly the whole time of its autonomy, but during the earlier period the head is almost always that of the older and bearded Dionysos, whilst in the later it is of the young Dionysos; so also on the coins of the earlier period Herakles is represented in action, on those of the later in repose. This coin, contrary to the ordinary type of the time when it was struck, has the head of the young Dionysos, and, had not the coin been subjected to ill usage, would have given us as fine a representation of an idealised head, taking into consideration the small space at the artist's disposal, as does the head of the older Dionysos on the tetradrachms of the same period—a head which, for nobility of expression and breadth and vigour of treatment, is not surpassed, if it is equalled, in the whole series of numismatic art.

### Amphipolis.

*Obv.*—Laureate head of Apollo, *adv.* towards right.

*Rev.*—ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ written around a square raised frame, within which is a flaming torch; in field to left Ρ; all in square incuse.

Æ. 7. 222 grs.

This coin, one of the small hoard discovered in 1859 near the site of the town, and some of which are described

by M. J. de Witte in the Revue Numismatique, N.S. vol. ix., has not hitherto been figured, though it is noticed in the memoir just referred to. The type is the ordinary and only one known of the tetradrachms of Amphipolis.

It would be impossible to imagine any medallic representation which more adequately or more beautifully renders the androgynous character of Apollo than is presented by the present coin. On those of Catana, where the head is full-faced, the effect obtained has been to display, after a somewhat feeble fashion, a certain prettiness, but there is little of the god apparent. The face, too, is impaired by the way in which the hair is treated, where the artist has allowed his manipulative skill to run riot, and to break up the design in a way quite destructive of its breadth. The same head on the coins of Clazomenæ and on the earlier ones of Rhodos is superior in every way to that on those of Catana; but in them also there is a deficiency, not only in the modelling of the face, but in the absence of a true idealisation. On some of the coins of Amphipolis it may be objected, and perhaps with truth, that there is too much of the feminine character exhibited in the head of Apollo, but this objection cannot with justice be made against the representation on the present coin, where both in form and expression the masculine side of the god is sufficiently apparent.

### Philip II.

*Obv.*—Head of Artemis Tauropolos facing to left, laureated and wearing necklace of beads, and earrings, behind right shoulder quiver. Border of dots.

*Rev.*—Young naked horseman to right, holding branch in right hand; in field right, half Pegasos to right. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Border of dots.

Æ. 2¼. 37·6 grs.

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*Rev.*—Young naked horseman to right, holding branch in right hand; in field right, half Pegasos to right. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Border of dots.

Æ. 2¼. 37·6 grs.

This very rare and beautiful diobolos of Philip II. has been published by Mionnet, Suppl. vol. iii. p. 285, No. 497, and by Müller, Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand, p. 337, No. 17, and engraved, Pl. XXIII. Fig. 17. Two specimens only were known to Müller, one in the Royal Collection at Munich, the other in that at St. Petersburg; it is probable that all the three coins are from the same die.

The head of Artemis is most charmingly treated, and it may take rank with almost any one of the full-faced heads on coins of the best period of Greek art, though it belongs itself to a time somewhat later than that. The type is, except on this coin, quite unknown on those of any of the Kings of Macedonia, though a bronze coin of Philip V. has the head of Artemis to right upon it. On the coins of Macedonia, when the right of coining silver was granted by the Senate B.C. 158, and after it became a Roman province B.C. 146, and on those of Amphipolis about the same time, the head of Artemis in profile is a common type. Precisely the same full-faced head occurs on a coin of Orthagoria,[2] of the same period as this one of Philip. The work, however, is inferior, and suggests that it has been copied from the finer coin.

The youthful horseman is found on almost all the silver and bronze money of Philip II., and is no doubt an agonistic type, though both the free horse and the horseman are frequent on the coins of the earlier Kings of Macedonia. The symbol of the half Pegasos, designating the place of mintage, has not hitherto been identified with any town. The type of Pegasos, both as a whole figure and dimidiated, is found on several coins which

[2] Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins of Macedonia, p. 88, No. 5.

undoubtedly belong to Macedonia, but which have not as yet been attributed to any certain place of mintage.

### Elis.

*Obv.*—Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos ornamented with a floriated figure, necklace, and earring, consisting of a bunch of grapes, hair turned up behind. F A.

*Rev.*—Eagle with spread wings, facing but to left, head turned back, standing on a supine hare to right; all within olive wreath.

Æ. 6½. 185·6 grs.

This didrachm, of a date about the middle of the fourth century B.C., is noted by Mr. Gardner in his paper on the Coins of Elis, Num. Chron., N.S. vol. xix. p. 252, No. 4. The obverse is from the same die as the coin No. 3 (Pl. XIV. Fig. 3) on the same page, but struck when the die was somewhat worn.

The reverse is quite new as a type in conjunction with the head of Hera, and gives a very noble representation of the bird of Zeus, the disposer of victory. Looking at it merely as a naturalistic representation, there is great spirit displayed in the attitude of the eagle, who appears ready to oppose any interference with his prey, and we can almost fancy that he is waiting the approach of some intruder, and is prepared to resent it.

### Cyzicus (1).

*Obv.*—Satyr bearded, kneeling to right, on right knee, on tunny, to right; he holds a kantharos in his right hand, into which he is pouring wine from an amphora held on his left arm.

*Rev.*—Incuse square in four parts, the quarters sloping off like the sails of a windmill.

EL. 3¼. 248·3 grs.

The only claim which this stater of Cyzicus has for being figured is that it has been struck from a different die, and is of somewhat better treatment and work than that described by Mr. Head, Num. Chron., N.S. vol. xvi. p. 280, and Pl. VIII. Fig. 9. It is one of the same find as the coins published in that paper, and in a supplementary one in vol. xvii.

It may be well to note that even at the time when Mr. Head's second paper was printed by no means all the coins of this find had come to light. Several more, both of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, the latter all from one die, have since then come into the market, and it is quite possible that others may still be kept in reserve.

CYZICUS (2).

*Obv.*—Naked figure bearded, kneeling left on left knee and holding a tunny by the tail in each hand.

*Rev.*—Same as preceding.

EL. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. 248 grs.

This stater, hitherto undescribed, is from the same find as the last one. It has been in circulation for some time, and on account of this, as also from its style of work, it appears to belong to a time a little earlier than some of those described in Mr. Head's papers, Num. Chron., N.S. vols. xvi. xvii. A stater very similar to it, but where the kneeling figure holds one tunny, was published by Borrell in Num. Chron., vol. vi. p. 151, and is also engraved in Mr. Head's paper, vol. xvii. Pl. VI. Fig. 4. There is a hecte of the same type as this last figured in Sestini, Stateri Antichi, Pl. VI. Fig. 10. It would be vain to conjecture to what the subject on these coins refers.

CYZICUS (3).

*Obv.*—Bald and bearded head to right; wreathed with laurel; beneath, tunny to right.

*Rev.*—Same as two preceding coins, but the quarters have a granulated surface.

EL. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. 246·4 grs.

This very remarkable coin has been described and engraved by Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 527, No. 75, Pl. XLIII. 1, but evidently from a coin in very poor condition. There is also a false die by Becker, apparently copied from Mionnet's figure. Mr. Burgon, in the sale catalogue of the Thomas Collection, of which this coin formed lot 1,912, calls the head that of Seilenos, but with a query. He was quite justified in expressing the doubt, for the head cannot be regarded as that of Seilenos, who, though sometimes represented with human ears, is never laureate. It is much more difficult to say to whom it may be attributed. Though the head has evidently been modelled from life, and is in no way idealised, it can scarcely be regarded as a portrait in the ordinary sense. This coin cannot be placed much, if at all, later than the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.; and at that time, so far as we know, no portrait of a human being as such had appeared upon a coin. Is it possible that some one who had rendered great service to the state had the laurel wreath granted to him, and his portrait as a semi-deified personage used on the coinage? If so he was neither Greek nor Persian, for the features are certainly not of either of those people. The coarse and fleshy face and the thick neck, with the skin in a heavy roll behind, have much of what is generally regarded as Scythian characteristics about them. The person here commemo-

rated may, however, have been a native of Mysia, of the people of which and their ethnological relations but little is known.

The granulated surface of the incuse on the reverse marks a period somewhat later than that of the coins of Cyzicus where the surface is plain.

### Lampsacus.

*Obv.*—Forepart of winged sea-horse to left, in square incuse.

*Rev.*—Infant Herakles kneeling to right and strangling two serpents, one with each hand; a belt with beads attached passes over his left shoulder and under his right arm.

*N.* $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2$. 130·2 grs.

This coin has been described by Mionnet, vol. ii. p. 559, No. 284, and is badly engraved by Sestini, Stateri Antichi, Pl. VI. Fig. 10. Upon the coin there figured a wheel occurs under the sea-horse: that part of the field is not included on the flan of the present coin, or possibly the same figure would have been found upon it. Mionnet does not notice a wheel on the coin in the French cabinet, nor is that or any other device to be seen on the numerous gold staters of Lampsacus, which have the common type of the sea-horse on one face and various types on the other.

The winged sea-horse, an emblem of Poseidon, is one of the most frequent types on the coins of this town, as it is on those of the not very distant town of Skepsis in the Troas. The type of young Herakles and the serpents is found on the silver and bronze as well as on the gold coins of Lampsacus, and is not an uncommon one elsewhere. It is met with on coins of Cyzicus, Thebes, Croton, and

Tarentum, and more especially (and in the case of these places as a very appropriate device) on certain coins of Samos, Ephesos, Rhodos, and Cnidos, which have on them the letters ΣΥΝ, the commencing ones of *συνμαχία*. M. Waddington, in a paper in Revue Numismatique, N.S. viii. 223, regards the alliance as made by these states against Sparta and Athens, after the battle off Cnidos, in B.C. 394, when Conon defeated the Lacedæmonian fleet under Pisander. The stater in question, though of the same period as these coins, can have nothing in common with them beyond the type of Herakles, for Lampsacus was at that time under Athens, having been reconquered in B.C. 411, after its revolt when Athens was defeated in Sicily.

It may be remarked that the belt, with its appended beads, which crosses over the shoulder of Herakles, is also found in the same position on the coins of Samos and Ephesos above referred to: whether it occurs on the coins of Cnidos and Rhodos I am unable to say, there is no indication of it in the figure of the Rhodian coin, engraved apparently from a worn specimen, in the Hunter Collection, Pl. X., lv. p. 51, but it is visible on that published by M. Waddington.

CYRENE.

*Obv.*—Youthful head to left, wreathed with ivy, and having a ram's-horn round the ear; behind head ΘΕΥΦΕΙ. Plain circle with projections on the outer side like the cogs of a wheel.

*Rev.*—Silphium, ΚΥΡΑ. All in shallow round incuse.

Æ. 5¾. 196·9 grs.

This beautiful tetradrachm has been published by Müller, Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique, vol. iii.

p. 188, No. 143A, from the present coin, but it has not hitherto been engraved. It is of the best period of Greek art, and gives a very favourable idea of the artistic skill of the Cyrenean die-engravers, which is confirmed by other coins.

The head, there can be no doubt, is that of Dionysos, as son of Ammon and Amaltheia, a type of common occurrence on the coins of Cyrene. Müller, who, however, had only a drawing of the coin before him, describes the wreath as one of laurel. It is unquestionably of ivy, and, indeed, to have found a head of Dionysos as laureate would have been not only singular but improbable. Among the numerous coins of Cyrene which have the youthful horned head upon them, this is the only one where it is wreathed; in the greater number the head is plain, but in some the hair is bound with a diadem. A didrachm (Müller, vol. i. p. 47, No. 176) with the name of the same magistrate upon it as on the coin now under notice, and it is the only coin of Cyrene on which the type occurs, has the young head (without any horn) of Dionysos, as son of Zeus and Semele, having a wreath of ivy and the thyrsos behind the head.

The letters ΘΕΥΦΕΙ are the commencement of the name of the magistrate ΘΕΥΦΕΙΔΕΥΣ, a name which frequently appears both in its entirety and in an abbreviated form on the gold and silver coins of Cyrene.

WILLIAM GREENWELL.

FROM THE GREENWELL COLLECTION.

## II.

### NOTICE SUR UNE MONNAIE DE TARENTE AU REVERS DE LAQUELLE ON A CRU VOIR UN PERSONNAGE PLAÇANT UN FER AU PIED D'UN CHEVAL.

Dans une vente de monnaies grecques et romaines faite le 28 et 30 juin 1879, à Paris, par MM. Rollin et Feuardent, se trouvait une didrachme de Tarente ainsi décrite sous le No. 9 du catalogue, *rev.* figure plaçant un fer à un des pieds du cheval. Æ. Rare 5.

Cette monnaie a été figurée et décrite par Carelli et nous en donnons ici un dessin, tout en nous inscrivant en faux contre l'attribution du ferrement du cheval à la figure placée sous le ventre du cheval. Les Grecs en effet ne ferraient point leurs chevaux, mais ils leur durcissaient la corne par des moyens qu'indique Xénophon dans son Traité du Commandement de la Cavalerie (et je cite ici la traduction de Paul Louis Courrier): "Pour faire au cheval un bon pied, si quelqu'un sait un moyen plus facile et plus simple, qu'il s'en serve, sinon d'après mon expérience je dis qu'il faut ramasser des cailloux du

chemin, du poids d'une mine, plus ou moins, les répandre et placer le cheval dessus, soit pour l'étriller, soit quand on l'ôtera de la mangeoire, en sorte que son pied ne cesse jamais de battre la pierre lorsqu'on le panse ou qu'il se sent piqué des mouches. Quiconque en aura fait l'épreuve m'en croira sur cela et sur tout le reste, et verra bientôt des pieds ronds à ses chevaux."

Dans le Traité de l'Equitation, traduit également par Courrier, Xénophon est encore plus explicite et voici ce qu'il dit en parlant du jeune cheval, du poulain à dresser pour la cavalerie: "En même tems qu'on s'occupe de sa nourriture et de ses exercices pour lui fortifier le corps, il faut aussi former ses pieds; or les écuries dont le sol est humide ou uni gâteront la meilleure corne; mais celles où l'on a pratiqué des écoulements, pour ôter l'humidité, et qu'on a pavées (pour que le sol ne fût pas uni) de pierres à peu près grosses comme le sabot, ces écuries-là durcissent la corne qui pose continuellement sur ce pavé; puis, comme le palefrenier devra panser le cheval dehors, et après le déjeuner, l'ôter du ratelier, pour qu'il revienne souper avec plus d'appétit, dans cet endroit où on le panse et l'attache hors de l'écurie, le pied se fortifiera encore, si l'on y fait verser quatre ou cinq tomberaux de pierres rondes, de grosseur à remplir la main et contenues par un entourage de fer pour les empêcher de se répandre; le cheval étant à cette place, ce sera comme s'il marchait tous les jours quelques heures dans un chemin plein de cailloux; car soit qu'on l'étrille, soit que les mouches le piquent, il battra du pied, de même qu'en marchant, sur ces pierres mobiles et roulantes qui affermiront la fourchette."

Il est évident d'après ces citations que si les Grecs du temps de Xénophon avaient connu l'usage de ferrer

leurs chevaux de selle tout au moins ils n'auraient point eu recours aux moyens indiqués aussi minutieusement par Xénophon, pour durcir la corne des pieds de leurs chevaux et les rendre ainsi aptes à toute espèce de service. Je ne sais pas même qu'il existe dans la langue grecque de mot propre pour désigner la ferrure des chevaux. Il est donc de la dernière évidence que l'usage de ferrer les chevaux n'existait pas chez les Grecs et que le rédacteur du catalogue de la vente faite par MM. Rollin et Feuardent à Paris au mois de juin 1879, a avancé une chose inexacte en croyant voir, comme cela a été dit par eux, au revers d'une monnaie de Tarente *une figure plaçant un fer à un des pieds du cheval.* Ce cheval étant monté par un cavalier qui lui place une couronne sur la tête, le moment serait d'ailleurs bien mal choisi pour le ferrer. Il ne faut donc voir ici dans le personnage qui tient le pied montoir du devant du cheval qu'un serviteur, un palefrenier sans doute qui cure le pied de cheval et lui ôte des corps étrangers, de petits cailloux peut-être engagés et retenus dans son sabot, de manière à le faire boiter ; ainsi que cela est d'ailleurs expliqué dans le consciencieux et savant ouvrage de Carelli, édition de Leipsig, que je ne puis citer que de mémoire, ne l'ayant point à ma disposition ici où je ne suis casé que temporairement et uniquement pour y passer l'hiver.

Dr. Al. Colson, *de Noyon.*

Nice, 20 *janvier* 1880.

## III.

### THE INDIAN SWASTIKA AND ITS WESTERN COUNTERPARTS.

So many learned and enthusiastic scholars have attempted in times past to explain the origin and purport of the so-termed Mystic Cross, the counterpart of the Indian *Swastika* 卐, that it is with some diffidence that I now venture to propose a more simple and less enigmatical solution of this much-discussed problem.[1]

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[1] After the outline of this paper had been taken as read at the meeting of the Numismatic Society on the 16th October, 1879, it was pointed out to me that I had been, to a certain extent, anticipated in my conclusions as to the interpretation of the meaning of the Swastika by M. Ludwig Müller.

While welcoming so competent a precursor, I do not find anything in his publication that conflicts with my theory. Our starting-points are different; our ultimate results are similar. He has elaborated every item of the consecutive Western Systems; I take my point of departure from Eastern sources. I am not aware that I have been under any obligation to M. Müller while working out in detail the earlier phases of the Oriental evidence; but I may frankly congratulate him upon the method which has produced the mass of evidence, a summary of which is here subjoined in his own words:—

"Il y a d'autres symboles d'origine asiatique qui montrent comment la figure du signe (卐) doit être comprise et quelle en a été la signification symbolique, savoir le triskèle et les signes linéaires correspondants. Le triskèle, composé de trois jambes humaines tournant autour d'un centre, indique évidemment un mouvement circulaire perpétuel. Il était dans l'Asie-Mineure méri-

As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients.

The earliest phase of astronomical science we are at present in a position to refer to, with the still extant aid of indigenous diagrams, is the Chaldæan. The representation of the sun in this system commences with a simple ring or outline circle, which is speedily advanced towards the impression of onward revolving motion by the insertion of a cross or four wheel-like spokes within the circumference of the normal ring. These crossbars are subsequently elaborated into new patterns and delineations,[2] which will have to be noticed hereafter.

As the original Chaldæan emblem of the sun was typified by a single ring, so the Indian mind adopted a

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dionale l'emblème du dieu suprême, Zeus assimilé à Baal, comme on peut l'inférer des monnaies frappées à Aspendus au milieu du V. siècle av. J.-C. Les Phéniciens l'appliquaient à Baal, surtout comme le dieu du soleil; c'est ce qu'on voit par une stèle punique, vouée à ce dieu, sur laquelle il est sculpté avec un visage humain au milieu des jambes (Gesenius, "Monum. Phœn." pl. xxi.); sur une monnaie celtibérienne, frappée dans le sud de l'Espagne, le disque du soleil apparaît derrière le visage (Lorichs, "Recherches num. sur les Médailles celtib.," pl. lxxvi. 12). . . . . Les signes qui forment le type ordinaire sur les monnaies de la Lycie avant le temps d'Alexandre étaient de même des symboles du dieu principal des Lyciens" ("La Croix gammée," par Ludvig Müller, Copenhagen, May, 1877, "Résumé," p. 103).

[2] "Sun Symbols," pl. ii., Figs. 1, 2, 3, &c.; Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," i. 161; Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon" (1853), pp. 211, 351, 592—6, 603—5.

similar definition, which remains to this day as the ostensible device or caste-mark of the modern *Sauras*, or sun-worshippers.[3] The tendency of devotional exercises in India, indeed, seems from the first to have lain in the direction of mystic diagrams and crypto symbols,[4] rather than in the production of personified statues of the gods, in which it must be confessed that, unlike the Greeks, the Hindus did not attain a very high style of art.

The hymns of the Veda, which, perhaps, represent a mixture of primitive Aryanism, combined with a certain amount of Indian home-thought, describe the sun in the following terms:—"The golden-handed, all-beholding Savitri, who travels by an upward and by a downward path,"[5] finally, "unyokes his horses" and "night extends, veiling darkness over all."[6]

The Vishnu Purána, which, in its later date and distinctly local compilation, of course, appeals more

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[3] "The sixth class of Sauras, in opposition to the preceding, deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun: they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered; they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons" (H. H. Wilson, "Religion of the Hindus," i. 19). See also Colebrooke's "Essays" (Cowell's edition), 1873, i. pp. 210, 212, ii. 181, and "Asiatic Researches," vols. vii. and ix.

[4] "Num. Chron.," vol. iv. N.S. 1864, p. 270.

[5] Wilson's "Translation of the Rig-Veda," London, 1850, vol. i. p. 98. Mr. Muir's extracts from ancient Sanskrit texts invoke the sun in his early stage as "Rise, Savitri":—

> "Thrice every day, O Savitri! send us desirable things from the sky;"

and further describe him as stretching out "his golden arms to vivify," &c. (vol. v. 166-7; see also vol. iii. p. 27).

[6] Wilson, "Rig-Veda," i. 305. See also "Ancient and Modern India," by Mrs. Manning, i. p. 360: London, Allen, 1869.

directly to indigenous conceptions, compares the motion of the sun to that of a potter's wheel.[7] If these expressions exemplify the persistent and abiding belief of India at large, our task in demonstrating the aim and intention of the *Swastika* as a type of the sun is obvious and easy.

No. 24 of the accompanying Plate II., copied from one of the votive *clay* offerings placed on the shrine of the sun at Bárahát, perhaps best conveys the leading idea of consecutive rays or following curved limbs, such as should denote an early stage of the definition of the flashes of the rays of the sun *in motion.*[8]

Nos. 25, 26, and 27 indicate the development of the same idea, and the natural transition from the curved to the angular pattern so favoured in Greece.

Nos. 28, 29, 30 carry on the impression of quadruple rotation, and lead up to the possibly still to be contested cross entered as No. 31, whose intent and meaning, apart from other proofs, seems to be determined by the arrowheads projected at the angles of an identical double cross, No. 32, which to my apprehension are used to emphasize the mid-day sun.

Indeed, if we are prepared to admit that the cross with spurs 卐 symbolises the sun *in motion,* a similar conces-

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[7] "Vishnu Purána," Wilson's translation, edited by Professor Hall, vol. ii. pp. 246-7.

[8] "He, the impeller, the chief of charioteers (Púshan), ever urges on that golden wheel (of his car) for the radiant sun" ("Rig-Veda," Wilson's translation).

"The twelve-spoked wheel of the true (sun) revolves round the heavens and never (tends) to decay: 720 children in pairs [360 nights and days], Agni, abide in it" ("Rig-Veda," Wilson, ii. 130).

"Púshan's wheel is not shattered, nor does its box fall, nor is its rim broken. . . . . And this most skilful charioteer drove that golden wheel of the sun through the speckled cloud" (Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," v. pp. 177-8; see also *note*, p. 157).

sion will have to be made to the identical cross divested of such adjuncts, as indicating an imaginary stop in the onward course of the great luminary.

The mid-day or meridian sun in these examples seems also to be discriminated by the fixed wheel of many spokes, who for a moment may have been supposed to stand still, and to shoot out his rays like the arrows of Apollo. No. 33 furnishes a curious example of this belief. No. 34, with the rising trident-like sun forming a support or pedestal to its own meridian development, displays on its full circumference the contrasted forms of conventional Indian arrows. Nos. 39 and 40 contribute the alternative forms of exterior tridents, whose purport is thus proved to be similar to the parallel and associate arrow-heads of other examples. No. 37, which is taken from the upper compartment of the archaic pillar containing the distinct representation of the classic chariot and four horses of the Sun at Buddha-Gayá,[9] is supplemented and confirmed in its import by the banner of the Sun held aloft in the sculptures of Bárahát, No. 38.[10]

Amid these casual and incidental notices of the illustrations in Plate II., which will be more closely defined in the table of contents, it remains for me to notice the *Vishnu pada* entered under No. 41. As this material device was in later times adopted and appropriated by the Indian Buddhists, in defiance of the pretended higher aims of the creed, it is necessary to reclaim it and indicate its proper purpose as a merely elaborated sun symbol.

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[9] Rájendra Lála, "Buddha Gayá," Calcutta, 1878, pl. l. p. 160.

[10] "The Stúpa of Bhárhut," by General A. Cunningham, India Office, London, 1879, pl. xxxii. Fig. 4.

The majority of these "sacred feet" in their primitive outlines are simply marked with a central sun, in wheel-like form, on the soles of the feet. But there are two remarkable examples (now in the British Museum) rescued from the *Tope or mound of Amarávati*, which improve upon the highest position of Vishnu, like an "eye fixed in the sky,"[11] and present us with symbolical references to the three aspects of the luminary—the rising, the meridian, and setting sun.[12] Our power of interpretation of the crypto intent of the Indian mind may be imperfect, but we have here some shadowy indications of a leading purpose or design which may aid future investigations.

In the lower compartment, rising upwards from the heel, may be seen the trident emblem of the rising sun

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[11] Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," iv. p. 64, "Rig-Veda"; see also passages pp. 229, 440.

[12] Colebrooke's "Essays," ii. p. 155; Wilson, "Rig-Veda," i. p. xxxiv., vol. iv. p. 17; Max Müller, "Rig-Veda," i. pp. 117-18; Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," v. pp. 36, 186, 188.

There are many and various interpretations given by the scholiasts to the term *Trivikrama*, which, however, seems to imply something more than three mere steps, and to extend to a continuative action, as *vi-kram* means primarily "to step beyond," "to pass beyond," "to step on," &c. The latest version is given by Dr. Muir, on the authority of Aurnavábha Áchárya, as "he plants one foot on the '*samárohana*' (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another], on the '*vishnupada*' (the meridian sky); [a third], on the '*gayasiras*' (the hill of setting)" (Hall, "Vishnu Purána," vol. iii. p. 19, *note*). This is a valuable commentary, and may serve to explain the invariable insertion of the full, wheel-like sun in the *centre* of the footprints of Vishnu. Illustrations of these "feet" may be seen in Dr. Schliemann's "Troy," p. 103, and in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," iii. N.S. p. 159, illustrating Mr. Fergusson's article on the "Amarávati Tope." No. 41 of the accompanying plate is taken from the left foot in the pair of feet there depicted.

helped on his way by the two *Aswins*,[13] or Dioscuri, as harbingers of the dawn, in the quaint form of Indian *Swastikas*, which are contrasted with the fading lights of the expiring night in the smaller reduced outlines of the same figure. In the centre of the foot-tread the wheel-like circumference of the sun appears with two outer rings, the closely-joined spokes of the wheel possibly indicating the 1,000 rays of Indian astronomy. In an admittedly imaginary composition we may possibly connect the single leading *Swastika* placed above the mid-day sun with *Púshan*,[14] the Western Pan. The parallel coincident symbols on each side have not hitherto been interpreted, but they seem to indicate a spreading out upwards (in the general device, but downwards or descending in the arc of the sky) of the simple cross of the sun tending towards

[13] The *Aswins* (horsemen) are described as "the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onward before the dawn, and prepare the way for her" (Muir, "Sanskrit Texts," v. p. 235).

[14] "Púshan, as a cowherd, carries an ox-goad, and he is drawn by goats. In character he is a solar deity, beholds the entire universe, and is guide on roads and journeys and to the other world. He is called the lover of his sister Súryá. He aids in the revolutions of day and night. . . . . According to Professor Roth, Púshan is not only the tutelary god of travellers, but also, like Savitri and Agni, and the Greek Hermes, a ψυχοπομπός, who conducts departed spirits on their way to the other world. The texts say, 'May Púshan convey thee onward on thy distant road; may Savitri place thee where the righteous abide, in the place whither they have gone. . . . . Púshan was born to move on distant paths, on the far road of heaven and the far road of earth. He goes to and returns from both the beloved abodes. . . . . One of thine (appearances) is bright, the other is venerable; thy two periods are diverse; thou art like Dyaus, for, O self-dependent god! thou exercisest all-wondrous powers . . . . . thou actest as the messenger of the Sun; . . . . . him, vigorous and rapid, . . . . . the gods gave to Súryá'" (Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. v. pp. 171 *et seq.*).

the final dispersed setting, which is indicated more distinctly in the toes, four of which repeat in smaller *Swastikas* the fading glow, while the great toe reproduces in a reduced form the trident of the rising sun.[15]

I have not attempted to explain the purport of the four dots associated with the *Swastika* of Púshan, as I have already encountered unproved "enigmas" enough. The ordinary conventional meaning of the unilluminated balls in the solar systems of the valley of the Euphrates is understood to be that they represent planets; and at times the *seven* planets are fully shown in company with and independent of the corresponding devices of the sun and the moon. The four dots "in the present" instance should also mean something beyond a mere filling in of the pattern.

Whether the intention was simply to indicate the regained power of sight or of observation of certain planets as the day waned, may be a legitimate question of inquiry. But when we begin to discover that the Hindus had learned to associate certain details of sun-spots with fortunes and with famines, we must be guarded in too hastily interpreting their methods of astronomical calculation, or in this case of solving *ab extra* their process of mystic definition.[16]

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[15] This symbol is only imperfectly defined in the Plate. It is, however, sufficiently obvious on the original stone in the British Museum.

[16] "J. R. A. S.," iv. N.S., "The Brihat Sanhita," translation by Dr. Kern, p. 430: "Victory to the *All-soul*, the source of life, . . the Sun, who is adorned with a crown of a thousand beams like unto liquid gold!" . . "There are thirty-three spots on the sun;" when these are seen on the sun, one must foretell the consequences from their colour, place, and figure, p. 447. "One of such figures brings famine." The date of Varáha-mihira's work is discussed in Dr. Kern's Preface to the Sanskrit Text: Calcutta, 1865.

In another direction we have abundant examples of the primitive belief in the three positions of the sun: almost all the old pillars at Amarávati are ornamented with a triple *lotus* pattern,[17] consisting of a semicircle or half-flower at the foot, in its uprising stage, succeeded by a central front-face flower, in the full maturity of the sun's emblem, surmounted on the capital by a duplicate half-flower reversed, the upper semicircle being omitted, which seems to denote the subsiding sun.[18]

In these instances, too, we find a remarkable exemplification of the hesitating or delayed disappearance of the after-glow in a pillar of a similar character in the Nassik caves, copied by Mr. West, where the fading light of the sun is exhibited in the form of a secondary or *retreated* repetition of the outline of the half-circle above the normal definition of the setting sun.[19]

I have elsewhere adverted to the claims of the local Buddhists to incorporate into their own system certain sun and other conventional symbols of the aborigines, which were inconsistent with the professed aims and more pretentiously elevated faith of their reformed religion.[20]

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[17] The Indian mythology connected the lotus in all manner of forms with the Sun, who is alluded to as "sprung from the lotus, seated on a lotus, holding a lotus, friend of the lotus," &c. &c. The Persian Mithra, or Ormazd, is represented in the sculpture at Ták-i-Bustán as standing on a lotus, Ker Porter, pl. lxvi.; Flandin, pl. xiv.

[18] "Tree and Serpent Worship," by J. Fergusson: London, 1868, pl. l. *et seq.*

[19] *Ib.*, woodcut, p. 168.

[20] It must not be supposed that I stand alone in this inference. Reference may be made to Colebrooke's "Essays," vol. ii. p. 278; "Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. i. p. 520; Captain J. Low, "Transactions, Royal Asiatic Society," 1830, vol. iii. p. 64; and "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. ix. pp. 65, 168; Major J. Delamaine, "Transactions, Royal

So far I merely contend that the Buddhists on these occasions followed an immutable law of nature, in conciliating the resident populations by incorporating or assimilating, as far as possible, the outward signs and symbols of a pre-existing religion.

But they further appear to have carried out their purpose in an ignorant way, and to have admitted the element of pious fraud into their methods of adaptation.

We have recently been put in possession of a remarkable instance of the latter, in the publication of General Cunningham's work on the Bárahát *Tope* or Tumulus. On the first discovery of this mound some years ago, there was great rejoicing among our European Buddhists at the fact, announced with great formality, that all the sculptured scenes were duly labelled with full descriptions, *in words*, of the purport, and it was supposed in authentication of the *original* design of the subject pictorially illustrated.

A large proportion of these so-termed labels are now found to consist of after-insertions placed in odd corners of the field,[21] and couched in less formal archaic characters than the independent authentic marginal entries of the primary devotional dedications.[22]

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Asiatic Society," vol. i. p. 411; Dr. Stevenson, "Kalpa Sútra," 1848, p. xii.; and "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. v., &c.; General Cunningham, "Archæological Report," 1871, vol. i. p. xxiv.; the Rev. S. Beal, "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," 1871, vol. v. N.S. p. 168; Childers, "Pali Dictionary," *sub voce* "Dhammacakkam"; M. E. Senart, "Journal Asiatique," 1875, vol. vi. p. 116; and my summary of the relative bearings of Jainism and Buddhism, in a paper on Asoka's Faith in the "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," 1877, vol. ix. N.S. p. 155.

[21] See pls. xiii. 3, xiv. 3, xv. 1, xvi. 1, xviii. 2, xix. 1, &c.

[22] Pls. xiv. 3, xvi. 2.

But the crucial test of the truth and sincerity of these cuckoo entries may be estimated from a single example amid the details of the unimpeachable sculptures themselves. The supposed triumphant record of

"*Bhagavato Saka Munino Bodhi,*"

or the

"Holy Pippal of the Buddha Sakya Muni,"[23]

is now discovered to be merely vaguely incised on the dome of a temple devoted to the sun—whose very worshippers are seen in their proper position in the lower compartment in the act of prayer, with a full series of sun symbols displayed on the votive slab: ranging from the various round forms and lotus patterns of the clay-cake imitations of the sun itself to the more crude reproductions of the sacrificial Gond pottery horse's head.[24]

In the instance of the sculpture in question, which is reproduced intentionally in General Cunningham's second photograph, pl. xxx., Fig. 3, there can be no possible doubt but that the later possessors of the temple endeavoured to adapt the more ancient descriptive scenes to the purposes of their own religious revival.

As Pliny has told us, the earliest temples of the gods were trees.[25] So, to this day the village tree is an institution among the forest tribes,[26] but it is not *the tree* that is

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[23] General Cunningham, the "*Stúpa* of Bharhut," p. 45.

[24] Pl. xiii. Fig. 1.

[25] xii. 2; Herodotus, ii. 56; Deuteronomy xii. 2; 1 Kings, xiv. 23; Jeremiah xvii. 2.

[26] The process of forming an aboriginal village, still practised by the forest tribes in India :—"Nadzu Peunu, the Village God, is the guardian deity of every hamlet. . . . . This deity is familiarly approached by all at his shrine, which is simply a stone placed under the great cotton-tree which stands in or

primarily worshipped, so much as the stock or stone under it. And so with later Buddhism, the tree was made sacred because Sakya Muni was supposed to have sat under it, not on account of any inherent sanctity in its own branches; *quoad* the new revelation.

In this case the tree overshadows the temple, in the same manner as on some of the Ándhra coins the tree is made to grow out of the apex of the conventional mound or *chaitya* formed of four superimposed rows of arches.[27]

But as if to climax the rest of the evidence in regard to the higher claims of the simpler sun worship, this tree is supported on either side by figures carrying in the form of standards representations of *Garudas*, or Indian harpies, half man, half bird, the special *váhana* or "vehicle" of Vishnu.

I have devoted one section of Plate II. to reproductions of Chaldæan and Assyrian forms of the sun, in order to exhibit their identities and contrasts with the symbols of the Indian system.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are taken from the facsimiles in Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies."[28] They show the progress from the normal ring towards more ornamental wheel-like devices. Figure 4 is important, as being the

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near every village. That tree, it may be observed, is planted at the foundation of each village, and is regarded with feelings of veneration which may be best understood from the following ceremony. . . . . On the day fixed for the ceremony, the village *Janni* brings from the jungle the stem of a young cotton-tree . . . . saying, 'I bring you, by order of Boora Pennu, who commanded us to build this village.'" (Captain Macpherson, "On the Religion of the Khonds," "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," vol. xiii. O.S. p. 268.)

[27] "Ándhra Coins," "Indian Antiquary," March, 1880, No. 4a, p. 62, "Coin of the Gotami family."

[28] Vol. i. pp. 161, 163.

apparent prototype of the figure of the sun so largely employed by the Greeks, and which numismatists have hitherto hesitated to designate as anything more definite than "a star." Figures 5 and 6 are the Assyrian counterparts of the Chaldæan forms, combined in both cases with the associate outline of the moon.[29] No. 7 is a counterpart symbol of the sun from Bavian,[30] where it is found in company with the moon and seven planets and other enigmatical devices. Mr. Layard[31] at once detected its likeness to "a Maltese cross, symbolical of the sun." The medal worn by Samsi Vul IV., B.C. 825, is equally open to a similar interpretation.[32] As the cross in No. 2 formed the leading design of advanced types of the sun, it is possible that thus, when divested of the outer ring and reduced to a single elementary cross, it may have suggested the alternative emblem in its more ornamental form.

But we have closer approximations to the outline of the normal cross at so early a period as 1500 B.C., where it is found on the engraved cylinder-seals used for the authentication of documents endorsed upon the ordinary moist clay of the impressed writing of the period.

No. 12, pl. xxxvi. of M. Lajard's work,[33] reproduces a leading specimen of these examples. The general

[29] Vol. ii. p. 249.

[30] Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon:" London, 1853, p. 211.

[31] Our artist has not been very accurate in his supposed copy from the cut in Mr. Layard's book. The likeness to the Maltese cross is much more marked in the original.

[32] An essay has lately been written by Mr. Mourant Brock, London, 1879, entitled "The Cross, Heathen and Christian," which takes for its basis this particular pattern.

[33] "Culte de Mithra," par M. F. Lajard: Paris, 1847. A later Sassanian example of the Maltese cross is to be seen in pl. xlii. 8a, where it has the tridents attached to the four points, as in the Indian instance of No. 40 of our plate.

device consists of a crudely-outlined seated figure, in the act of extending the open palm of the right hand towards a small fire or incense-altar; above which, separated by a horizontal line, are inserted three crosses, or quasi suns, in the form here given ✠. The cuneiform legend refers to the Lady of E-anna at Erech.[34]

No. 15, pl. liv. *b*, of the same publication, further represents a seal, with a long, illegible cuneiform inscription associated with a pictorial device, consisting of a standing figure with the hand held up in worship of *the* cross symbol, here reproduced in facsimile ✠.[35] The general picture is filled in with three other crypto devices, a well-designed figure of a seated dog at the foot, and a springing antelope or ibex in the centre of the field.

Both above and below this leading design, separated by horizontal lines, there appear three well-defined representations of the sun, consisting of two inner rings and nine pointed rays; the three orbs are detached in the intervals by small almond-shaped or oval shields.

The most important diagram in the Assyrian series is, however, No. 8, which is also taken from Canon Rawlinson's work.[36] It exhibits, like the Indian examples

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[34] I am indebted to Mr. Pinches for the subjoined note on these cylinders:—

"Both the cylinders appear to be of Babylonian workmanship, and probably of about the fifteenth century B.C. That on pl. xxxvi. contains a notice of the Lady of E-anna, and as E-anna was one of the temples of Erech, that is probably the exact locality. The inscription of No. 15, pl. liv. *b*, is not copied well enough to make out anything certain."

[35] A similar cross is to be seen on "the black stone," figured in Mr. Loftus' work on Chaldæa, 1850, p. 419, and noticed in Walpole's "Turkey," 1820, vol. ii. p. 426. See also Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 467.

[36] Vol. ii. p. 233. Some later traces of the belief in the three

already adverted to, a clear recognition of the three positions of the sun in its upward ascent, balanced by an equally revolving figure of the luminary in its descent, both forms being marked, though apparently in different degrees, with the signs of centrifugal speed. Whereas the central half-orb is discriminated by wheel-like spokes, and below its circumference there appears a hand holding a bow, from which we must imply that the mid-day rays in the shape of arrows had lately been discharged.

The written evidence towards the belief in the three forms of the sun is not so complete as could be desired, but the following passage from an earlier volume of the same work gives indications of the existence of some such a theory among the Chaldæans :—

"*Ai, Gula,* or Anunit, was the female power of the sun, and was commonly associated with *San* in temples and invocations. Her names are of uncertain signification, except the second *Gula,* which undoubtedly means 'great,' being so translated in the vocabularies. It is suspected that the three terms may have been attached respectively to the rising, the culminating, and the setting sun, since they do not appear to interchange; while the name of Gula is distinctly traced in one inscription to belong to the 'great goddess, the wife of the *meridian* sun.'"—"Chaldæa," vol. i. p. 161.

Among the other nations of the old world, the Egyptian records testify in complete and definite terms to the discriminated worship of the three phases of the sun's course. Dr. Birch, our most competent guide on these subjects, writes :—

"The religious notions of the Egyptians were chiefly

positions of the Sun are to be detected in the creed of the Nosairis. See "Journal Asiatique," 1879, p. 195, *et seq.*

connected with the worship of the Sun, with whom at a later period all the principal deities were connected. As *Har* or Harmachis he is represented as the youthful or rising sun, as *Ra* the mid-day, and as *Tum* the setting sun. According to Egyptian notions, that god floated in a boat through the sky or celestial ether, and descended to the dark regions of night or Hades. Many deities attended on his passage or were connected with his worship, and the gods *Amen* and *Kheper*, who represented the invisible and self-produced god, were identified with the Sun."[37]

Sir G. Wilkinson had previously indicated to what a pitch of elaboration this system of sun worship had arrived at, when, to use his own words, "So great was the veneration paid to this luminary, that in order to propitiate it they burnt incense three times a day—*resin* at its first rising, *myrrh* when in the meridian, and a mixture called *kuphi* at the time of setting."[38]

Another phase and signs of a wider spread of the natural selection of the sun as the first object of worship of primitive mankind also reaches us from Egyptian sources.[39]

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[37] Dr. S. Birch, "Ancient History from the Monuments," "Egypt.," p. ix. See also Sir G. Wilkinson's "Egypt," new edit. vol. iii. p. 132.

[38] Vol. iii. p. 384.

[39] I am unwilling to break the continuity of a somewhat complex series of comparisons by enlarging, in my text, upon the admitted identities of the earliest civilisation of Egypt and India; but in adverting to the fresh evidences previously adduced, I may suggest a more extended and comprehensive examination of a new branch of the subject, embracing the coincidences to be detected in the worship of animals in Egypt, and the adoption of parallel symbols derived from animal life, as the religious devices of the Jain saints and hierarchs in India.

On the 16th of the month (*Athyr*) Amenhetp III. (Memnon) celebrated a festival, and brought into it the boat of the solar disc, called *Atennefru*, "the most lovely disc." This worship of the sun's orb or disc was not unknown in Egypt, and was allied with that of *Ra*. In the Aten may, perhaps, be recognised the solar disc or orb specially worshipped by the Ethiopians, and the mother of Amenophis was of that race. In it some have seen the Hebrew Adonai or "Lord," and the Syrian Adonis.[40]

The practical developments of the Egyptian creed in the threefold aspect of the sun lead us naturally to inquire as to whether Pausanias' description of the Temple of the Sun in Arcadia, and his reference to Syene, do not equally point to prototypes from the banks of the Nile?

The curious credulity of Pausanias, which made him believe in tropical suns in latitudes where such conjunctions were impossible, induced me to examine the passage quoted below; and on further investigation I found that the subordinate details of the three representative temples of the rising, meridian, and setting sun had been already worked out in detail by that accomplished archæologist, the late Ch. Lenormant. I append so much of his commentary as will suffice to explain the nature of his conclusions.

"Lycosura, indeed, is certainly the most ancient of all cities which are either contained on the continent or in islands: and this was the first the sun beheld. Hence,

[40] Dr. S. Birch, "Egypt," p. 107; Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 52. See also a new work on "Nile Gleanings," by Villiers Stuart, Murray, 1879, pl. v. p. 82; "Bas Relief on a Tomb at Thebes," recently discovered by the author, representing the Solar Disc with arms and hands pouring down from a midday ring.

from this city men learnt how to build other cities. But on the left hand of the Temple of Despoina is the mountain Lycaeum, which they call Olympus; and by others of the Arcadians it is denominated *the sacred summit.* They say that Jupiter was educated on this mountain; and there is a place in the mountain which is called Cretea, and which is on the left of the grove Parrhasius, which is sacred to Apollo. . . . . In Lycaeus, too, there is a Temple of Pan . . . . the Lupercalia were the first celebrated in this place. Here too are the bases of certain statues, the statues themselves being removed. . . . . But the mountain Lycaeus, among other particulars with which it abounds, has the following:—There is a grove in it of the Lycaean Jupiter, into which men are not permitted to enter. . . . . They further report that both men and beasts which happen to come into this place cast no shadows from their bodies. . . . . Indeed, in that part of the year in which the sun is in Cancer, there is no shadow either from trees or animals in Syene, a city near Æthiopia. But in this grove of the mountain Lycaeus, this circumstance respecting shadows takes place perpetually and during every season of the year. On the highest summit too of this mountain there is a heap of earth which forms an altar of Lycaean Jupiter . . . . In that part of the mountain which is situated towards the east there is a temple of Apollo, who is called Parrhasius; they likewise denominate him Pythius."—Pausanias VIII. xxxviii. Translation of T. Taylor, ii. 308.

M. Ch. Lenormant, under the head of "Jupiter Lycéus," in the "Trésor de Numismatique" ("Galerie Mythologique," p. 24), continues his comments on this passage in the following terms:—

"Ou je me trompe fort, ou il est impossible qu'on trouve établi d'une manière plus positive le rapport des phénomènes qu'on observe à l'apogée du soleil, et ceux qu'on suppose appartenir au feu porté à sa plus haute puissance : afin de mieux confirmer encore l'exactitude de nos rapprochements, Pausanias (viii. 38) nous montre le sanctuaire de *Jupiter Lycaeus*, entre le Temple de *Pan*,[41] situé au milieu d'un bois touffu, et celui *d'Apollon Parrhasius*, bâti dans la direction du soleil levant. A la porte du sanctuaire de Zeus se trouve en outre l'autel où, à l'époque où vivait Pausanias, fumait encore en certaines occasions le sang des victimes humaines." [42]

The arrangement of the diagrams and representations of the sun discovered at Hissarlik, reproduced in Pl. II., is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, as the ground levels at which the various clay objects, on whose surfaces they are inscribed, do not suffice to determine their relative age.[43] It is sufficient for our present purpose that they all

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[41] "Nous trouvons en effet cette espérance réalisée dans le dieu primitif de l'Arcadie, celui qui certainement précéda Zeus dans cette contrée, je veux dire *Pan*, dieu des campagnes, ce qui indique toujours la religion primitive, la population des champs n'ayant jamais accepté les transformations que subissait le culte des villes. Pan, dieu *lumineux* par essence, ainsi que son nom nous l'indique, a la double forme dont nous poursuivons la trace" (p. 25).

[42] Nous avons vu dans les observations précédentes le caractère propre de *l'Apollon Lycaeus* d'Argos, qui figurait comme un dieu vainqueur des ténèbres. En Crète, c'est le héros Talos qui est l' ἡμεροδρόμος, le soleil accomplissant sa course chaque jour, selon le témoignage formel d'Hésychius ; Jupiter Tallaeus se confond avec lui. Passant ensuite au *Jupiter Lucetius* des Romains, nous voyons que ce Jupiter lumineux est le même que le *Zeus loup* des Grecs ; il est le *Diespiter*" (p. 26).

[43] No. 15. Dr. Schliemann's No. 349, from a flat clay cake, pierced with two holes near the circumference, was found at a depth of 2 mètres = 6½ feet, or in the stratum which he calls

typify or denote, in their several gradations, some one or other phase or form of the worship of the sun as locally adapted from time to time to the claims of the presiding. families of the hierarchs in possession.

The sequence of the present numbers may, therefore, be indefinitely transposed. But the ruling theory of the revolving motion of the sun is consistently maintained in its various forms from Nos. 9 to 16, whose outline comes home to us in the surviving types of our own land.[44]

No. 15 merely represents a finished form of the current *Swastika*, so common on the earlier examples of these clay objects.

No. 17 theoretically may be taken to indicate a midday sun, with its rays focussed, but the form is not important.

No. 18 is remarkable as representing a flower pattern, intended, perchance, to carry out the Egyptian idea of the morning sun rising or emanating from a *Lotus* into the full flower of noon.

No. 19, like several other examples of the same cha-

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"Greek Ilium." No. 12 comes from the fourth stratum, 6½ to 13 feet downwards. Nos. 9, 10, 13, and 19 were discovered at a depth of between 13 and 23 feet; and Nos. 14 and 17 were found imbedded in *the stratum*, from 23 to 33 feet below the surface, which Dr. Schliemann designates as "the Troy of Homer." Below this level, from 33 to 52½ feet, there occurs another stratum before the native rock is reached ("Troy and its Remains," London, 1875, Diagram, p. 10).

[44] Device of the Isle of Man. See also the figures on the "Roman Wall" depicted in C. Bruce's work, 1867, pp. 127—399, where the distinct entries of DEO INVICTO MYTRAE and DEO SOLI INVICTO MYTRAE leave no doubt about the meaning of the symbols. At p. 404 the revolving sun on the side of the altar might almost be taken as a copy of No. 13 Pl. from Troy. Numerous examples of the archaic form of the sun, figured as No. 2 of our Plate, are to be found in Ireland. See "Christian Inscriptions," &c., R. Arch. Assoc. of Ireland, 1878, p. 138.

racter, seems designed to show the "shooting of arrows," which, as we have seen, was supposed to mark the mission of the sun in the meridian.

In citing with but scant introduction these selected emblems of the worship of the sun from the multiplicity of the patterns contributed by Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, I feel bound to put on record my own profession of faith in this direction. Dr. Schliemann in his latest publication has reiterated [45] an early impression that the so-called whorls of Hissarlik were EX VOTO's; in that general conception, with some modifications, I am fully prepared to concur.

In the first place we have to refer to localities. The dominant hill of old Troy seems to have presented a natural observatory, the like of which had to be built up in the valley of the Euphrates, and piled up in less finished forms on the alluvial plains of India. The easy transition, in the present instance, from the pre-historic worship of the sun to the higher level of the "sacred Pergamus" of Homer's Apollo [46] seems to follow in the ordinary course.

We are, however, for the moment chiefly concerned with the earlier developments of the home civilisation in what Dr. Schliemann defines as the stratum, nearly twenty feet below, or many years in advance of the "Troy of Homer."

In examining the objects recovered from the lowest level, or "black clay" stratum, we find probably the very earliest and crudest type of a candlestick, fashioned by

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[45] "In my present excavations I shall probably find a definite explanation as to the purpose for which the articles ornamented with such significant symbols were used; till then I shall maintain my former opinion that they served as *Ex votos*, or as actual idols of Hephæstos" (Sch., "Troy," ch. vi.).

[46] Il., v. 444.

the rough chipping of the edges of the flat surface of a potsherd, which apparently had once formed part of a more important dish or vessel. No attempt seems to have been made to smooth or finish off the outer edge, and the central hole is in some cases merely punched through, with the inner edges equally left in the rough. An advance is seen in one instance of a red clay potsherd, found at between forty-seven to fifty-three feet below the highest level, which, though still irregular in its chipped edges, seems to have had the central orifice more carefully bored, and the hole itself is surrounded on the upper surface with an ornamental circle graved into the baked clay. Similar, but unornamented, red clay cakes become frequent at the higher levels, and an advance is made in the method of adaptation by boring the hole near the edge of the circumference; this, again, is improved upon by a repetition of the hole in intentional juxtaposition with its fellow opening, forming, perchance, a double candlestick. And in the stone articles of similar design,[47] in the twenty-six feet level, the two holes are bored to balance one another outside the true centre, and less close to the circumference than in the clay objects.

These changes in the position of the perforations seem to be altogether inconsistent with the supposed use of these objects as "spinning whorls." The alternative inference I should venture to suggest is that they were intended to hold the stick or sticks of fir, which we learn was the method of obtaining artificial light followed in certain parts of Asia Minor from all time.

"Sir C. Fellows' description of these fir candles is as follows:—

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[47] In Case 8, South Kensington Museum.

"I think I have not mentioned that the light generally used in this part of the country, even in the large town of Kootáya and the other towns through which I have passed, is a chip of the fir-tree. The people make a wound in the tree, which draws the sap to that part, and the tree is then cut for firewood, reserving this portion filled with turpentine for candles. I was surprised to find how long they burned. . . At Æzani they brought some of this resinous wood to light our fire; and when any one of our party quitted the room he, with his large knife (a weapon they all carry), split off a slip, which served him for a candle. We met people in the streets of Kootáya carrying them." — "Asia Minor," 1839, p. 140.[48]

If this explanation of the use to which these unadorned clay and stone contrivances were put be correct, the higher mission of their successors, decorated so constantly on their upper surfaces with symbols of the sun, would seem to point to the worship of the great luminary, associated with an incidental illumination at the sacrifice of the "lighting of lamps" so religiously observed by the Carians.[49]

[48] In a subsequent edition (1852) the author adds in a note (p. 105), "This use of fir-wood cleft or torn into strips, and especially of the *root* of the tree, is well known, and is described in an instructive essay published by Mr. A. Aitkin in the "Transactions, Society of Arts," vol. liii. p. 4. . . . . Mr. James Yates is of opinion that this method of obtaining artificial light has prevailed in Asia Minor for nearly three thousand years." Theophrastus' account of the torchmakers of Mount Ida is also referred to.

[49] Herodotus, ii. 61. "All the Carians that are settled in Egypt do still more than this, in that they cut their foreheads with knives, and thus show themselves to be foreigners, and not Egyptians." 62: "When they are assembled at the sacrifice, in the city of Sais, they all on a certain night kindle a great number of lamps in the open air around their houses. The lamps are flat vessels filled with salt and oil, and the wick

One objection might suggest itself as to the suitability of these ornamented clay forms for the purpose of holding a light, that is that the lower surface is usually rounded off, and would render them unfit to stand erect without support; but if these were merely to be placed on the surface of the soil, this obstacle might easily be met. Or, if used for chamber lights, the ready access to moist clay, implied in the local use of pottery for all purposes, even to the fabrication of hooks whereon to hang garments, &c., would secure them a handy and appropriate pedestal.

There are many curious and instructive parallels, among the devotional observances of primitive sections of the local Indian communities, tending to support the conjecture that the so-called Trojan *whorls* were in effect votive offerings to the sun.

One of the surviving aboriginal "forest tribes"—the Gonds—to this day substitute for "the living sacrifice" a clay model of a horse, a type especially identified with their form of the worship of the sun.

An effective illustration of this practice in its hereditary aspect has lately been furnished us in the newly discovered sculptures of the Bárahát Tope, where crude figures of horses' heads are depicted on the votive slabs in combination with apparently fresh flower offerings and more formal clay cakes, representing the sun in his various conventional forms of wheels, lotus patterns, and more definite *Swastikas* enclosed within a simple outer ring (Pl. II. 24).

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floats on the surface, and this burns all night; and the festival is therefore named 'the lighting of lamps.' The Egyptians who do not come to this public assembly observe the rite of sacrifice, and all kindle lamps, and this not only in Sais, but throughout all Egypt. A religious reason is given why the night is illuminated and so honoured."

These Gond clay horses seem to have been also devoted to ancestral or Manes' reverential purposes, and we find them described by modern observers, as "large collections of rude earthenware, in the shape of horses, which have accumulated from year to year at the tombs of such men."

I myself have had some experience in unearthing buried sites in the East, and am able personally to testify to similar and occasionally chaotic profusion of crude votive clay tablets, sanctified by the progressionally advanced forms of prayer-inscribed models of *Dagopas*, as turned up from the soil of the later Buddhist location at Sárnáth, near Benáres.[50]

My impression of the aim and purpose of these offerings is that each clay symbol represented the individual prayer of successive pilgrims—having served the turn of each devotee they became sacred deposits, and could scarcely be used again, even if the officiating priests were likely to encourage such economy—and hence we find such heaps and mounds of comparatively indestructible baked-clay objects—the untouched accumulation of ages, whose limits were simply defined by the evanescent faith of the living multitude.

General Cunningham, whose range of Indian antiquarian researches is so extensive, in adverting to the "cart-loads" of votive images of Buddha found near

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[50] "Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal," vol. xxiii. (1854) p. 469. The more advanced temple-like votive offerings, impressed with the inner seal *prayer*, were found, collected together in one spot, to the right-front of the pedestal, which was supposed to have supported the statue of Buddha. The more simple flat clay cakes, impressed upon the upper surface only (Figs. 4 and 5), were "found promiscuously mingled with the *débris* in the open court, generally at the level of the original surface."

Benáres in 1794,[51] and at Buddha Gayá early in the present century,[52] concludes his summary of the general spread of the custom of offering such symbolic forms—"In the temples of Ladák I have seen small chambers quite full of similar little figures of deceased Lámas. In Burmah also I have seen small figures of Buddha in burnt clay accumulated in heaps equal to cart-loads, both in the caves and in the temples."[53]

## Coins.

The prehistoric clay and other sun symbols from Hissarlik have in a measure anticipated anything we can produce in evidence from coined money, but in regard to the spread of such symbols among Western nations, and their association with more advanced forms of worship, the extant coins will be found to prove highly instructive. To proceed upon the *ex oriente lux* principle, we can follow the originals, or adapted modifications, of types of the sun from the ancient site of Aspendus, along the Lycian coast and the home of Sarpedon's traditional sun-worship, to the Ἀβέλιον ἥλιον, Κρῆτες,[54] and the island of Τρῖνακρια, sacred to Helios, which may well complete the geographical sequence of the present paper. A more or less full description of the coins themselves will be found in the appended "contents" of Pl. III.

I have alluded to the progressive advances upon the

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[51] "Asiatic Researches," vol. v. 131.

[52] Moor's "Hindu Pantheon," pl. lxx. figs. 6, 7, 8. See also Colonel Sykes, "Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," xvi. 1861, p. 37.

[53] "Archæological Survey," vol. i., 1871, p. 119. See also his "Ladák," London, 1854, p. 378.

[54] Hesych., *s.v.* See also ABELLIO, Smith's Dic., *s.v.*

primitive worship of the sun. As we find the Vedic Aryans speaking of him as "the universal deity,"[55] so Persians, Scythians,[56] and Greeks alike recognised the most potent mass in the planetary system. But as civilisation progressed, intuitive forms of worship were not found to pay a priesthood, and so the simple devotional prayer which each man could say for himself, or, if untaught, could place in evidence by small votive offerings "after his kind," came to be superseded by things more mystic, tending to the glorification and profit of ministering Brahmans and Greek hierarchs. A curious passage in Lucian[57] shows how, in his time, the sun had been virtually deposed from his leading position, and his throne left vacant:—

"The temple (of the Tyrian goddess at Hierapolis) fronts the rising sun. . . In the fore part of the temple, to the left hand of the comers in, stands the throne of the solar deity, but his image is not thereon; for the sun and the moon are the only divinities that are not sculptured here. On inquiring the reason, I received for answer: 'Of the other deities it is permitted to make likenesses, because their figures are not known to all men; but

[55] "Rig-Veda;" Wilson's translation, vol. iv. p. 12; vol. iii. p. 10. "The sun . ." the supreme spirit, or Parabrahma. "Vishnu is the Sun. How?" &c., "Rig-Veda," x. 88, 10. Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," ii. 204.

"If the doctrines of the *Veda*, and even those of the *Purânas*, be closely examined, the Hindu theology will be found consistent with monotheism . . . . . I have only to remark that modern Hindus seem to misunderstand the numerous texts which declare the unity of the godhead and the identity of *Vishnu*, *Siva*, the Sun, &c. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 219).

In a parallel degree we have—Εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Αἴδης, εἷς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπις (Julian, Orat. iv. p. 136).

[56] Herodot., i. 212, 216.

[57] The authorship of the "De Dea Syria" is not altogether uncontested.

the sun and moon are visible to every one; accordingly, there is no reason for delineating them.' Behind this throne stands the statue of Apollo; but not as he is commonly figured" (Lucian, translation by W. Tooke, 1820, i. p. 456, text, sec. 34).

## Contents of Pl. II.

(With the derivation and authority for each form.)

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Chaldæan sun symbols, copied from Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," i. pp. 161, 163.

Nos. 5, 6. Assyrian ditto, with the subjunct moon (R.A.M., vol. ii. 249).

No. 7. Sun symbol, in the form of a Maltese cross, from Bavian (Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," 1853, p. 211).

No. 8. Representation of the ascending, midday, and declining sun (R.A.M., ii. 233, "Assyrian").

Nos. 9—19. Various forms of the sun, from the archaic ideals depicted in Dr. Schliemann's "Troy."

Nos. 20—22. Primitive or normal outlines of the Indian sun.

Nos. 23, 24 (Pls. XIII.a, XVI.b, XVII.c, &c.). Symbolic clay figures of the sun, deposited on the shrine of Vishnu, as developed in the sculptures at Bárahát.

Nos. 25—33. Indian sun symbols derived from various sources, but chiefly from the coins of Ujjain sketched in pl. lxi. vol. vii. "Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal," and in General Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes." No. 32 is to be found in vol. iv. pl. xxxv. of the "Jour. As. Soc. Beng."

The uprising and the full meridian orb of the sun in sequent conjunction ("Bhilsa Topes," pl. xxxii. fig. 1).

Nos. 35, 36. From coins of Ujjain.

No. 37. Standard of the sun discovered above the chariot and four horses of Súrya, in the earliest sculptures at Buddha Gayá (pl. l.).

No. 38. Standard of the sun, from the sculptures of the Bárahát Tope, pl. xxxii. fig. 4.

Nos. 39, 40. The former from coins, the latter from the

ancient rock-cut cave at Bhaja, in the Western Gháts (Fergusson's "Indian Architecture," 1876, p. 112).

No. 41. One of the Vishnu-padas at Amarávati, now in the B.M., copied from Mr. Fergusson's woodcut ("Journal, Royal Asiatic Society," iii. N.S. 159).

No. 42. A crude clay model of a horse's head, "offered in sacrifice in lieu of the living victim." This outline is reproduced from one of the symbols on the votive slab at Bárahát, pl. xiii. 1.

No. 43. An open palm of a hand, whose precise signification is still obscure. It may possibly have some reference to votive "handfuls." The Indian *Mushti*-"Manipulus."

This form appears frequently at Bárahát. In pl. xvi. 2, 3, it is associated with other sun-like offerings on the slab or folded carpet above the *Garudas*, and the ancient *Vishnu padas*, or "feet of Vishnu," under that form of the sun. A striking example, however, of its archaic use occurs in the Cypriote Series, in pl. xxxiii. fig. 24, Cesnola, where it is combined with symbols of the eagle, fish, stag, and six balls or planets. The hand device is more directly identified with solar emblems in No. 2, pl. lxi. vol. vii. "Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal," and perhaps accomplishes its modern career in the *Punja*, or "fists," of Prinsep's "Table of later-day Symbols," No. 114, p. 68, of his "Useful Tables."

## Contents of Pl. III.

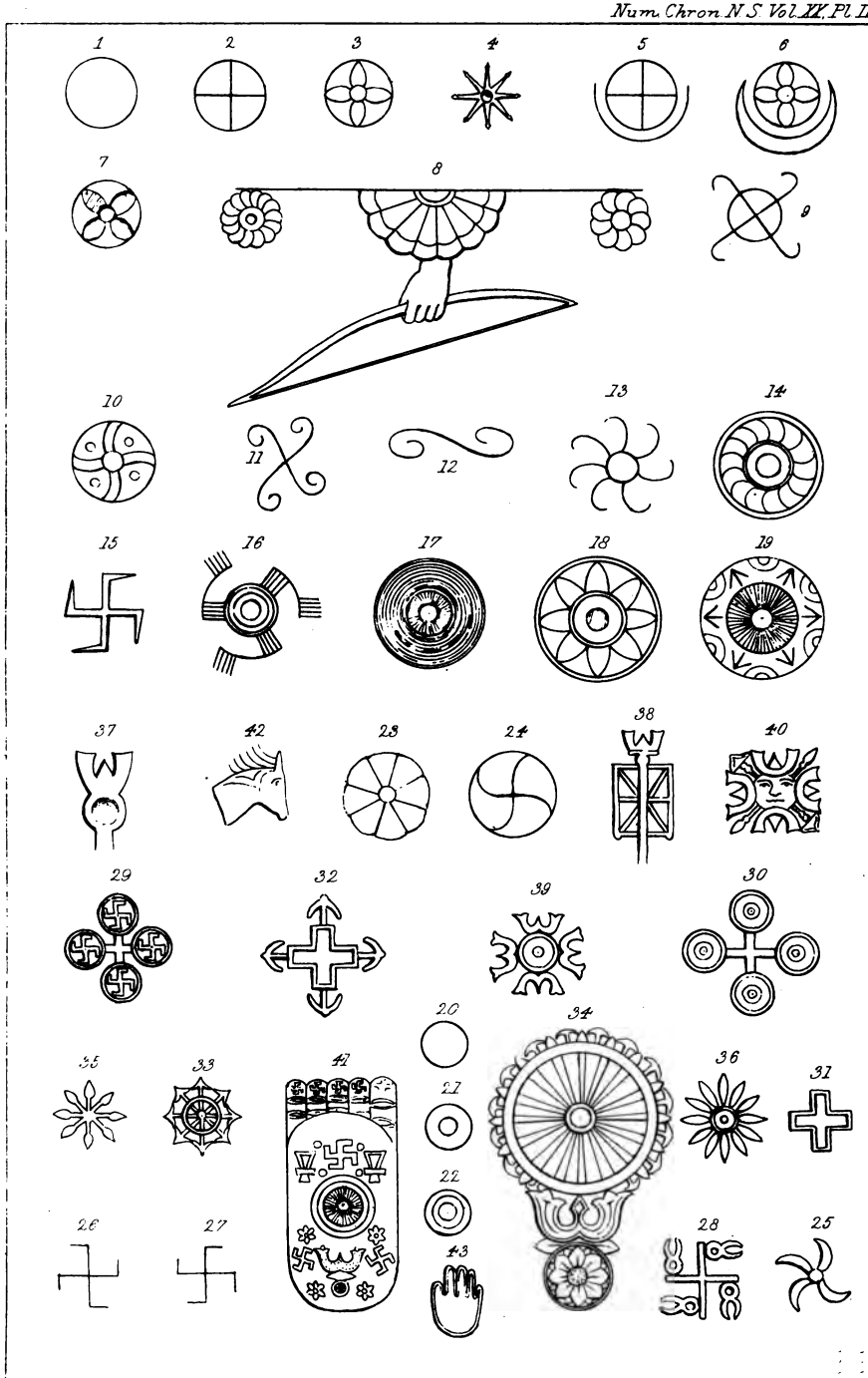
### SYRACUSE, CIRCA 317—310 B.C.[58]

No. 1. Silver. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone.

*Revs.*—(α) Quadriga, with female charioteer; above, triquetra. Legend, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

(β) Similar type, with the sun in place of the triquetra. Legend identical.

[58] These Sicilian coins have been classified and described in detail in Mr. Head's admirable article in vol. xiv. of our journal. I am indebted to the Medal Room authorities of the B.M. for *all* the examples in this plate.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F. J. Leos

No. 2. Copper. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo. Legend, ΣΥΡΑ-ΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

*Rev.*—Triquetra, the feet ornamented with winged pedila; in the centre a Gorgon's head.

No. 3. Silver. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas, with ornamental Corinthian helmet.

*Rev.*—Pegasus, with triquetra in the field above. Legend, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

CIRCA B.C. 307—289.

No. 4. Silver. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas.

*Rev.*—Pegasus, with the sun in the field above. No legend.

CIRC. B.C. 289—278. HIKETAS.

No. 5. Gold. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone. Legend, ΣΥΡΑ-ΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

*Rev.*—Biga driven by Nike; in the field above, the moon. Legend, ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ.

CNOSSUS, IN CRETE.

No. 6. Silver. *Obv.*—Female head.

*Rev.*—The sun, surrounded by a double-lined figure of the *swastika*, in the form of a labyrinthine pattern, indicative of rotative motion. (In the Indian example, Pl. II. Fig. 29, the motive *swastika* is placed *within* the outer circle of the sun.)

No. 7. Silver. *Obv.*—Female head.

*Rev.*—Similar pattern to No. 6, but the windmill-like arms enclose a half-moon.

LYCIA.

No. 8. Silver. *Obv.*—The Lycian wild boar.

*Rev.*—Triquetra, with cocks' heads. The cock was sacred to and was supposed to welcome the rising sun (Pausanias, book v. cap. 25).

No. 9. Silver. *Obv.*—Lion devouring a bull.

*Rev.*—Triquetra. Legend, ΚΟ ΓΡ ΛΛΕ.

No. 10. *Obv.*—Female head, wearing earring and necklace, hair bound with cord and turned up behind.

*Rev.*—Circular figure of the sun, with four curved arms, as in the early Trojan example in Pl. II. Fig. 9. The central space is filled in with the device of an owl. (Whether this conception is intended to apply to his seeking his own ivy with the rise of the sun, or his reappearance at sunset, is doubtful.) Legend, ⋁⋀ΡΕΥΡ ⋀⋀ΧΞΤ.

ASPENDUS, IN PAMPHYLIA.

No. 11. *Obv.*—Archaic warrior, with spear and shield.

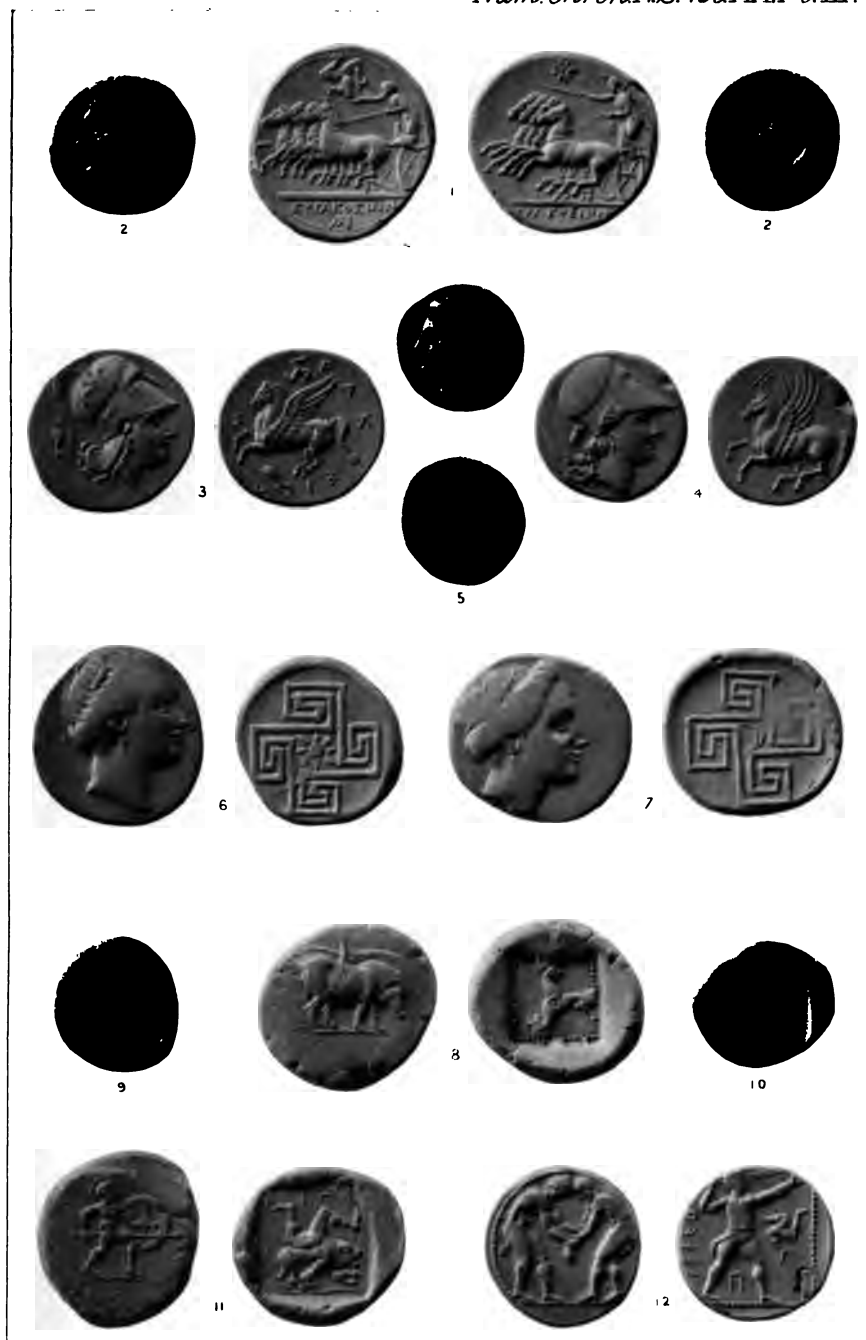
*Rev.*—Triquetra, with lion moving to the right. Legend, ΕΣΠ.

These coins seem to have furnished the prototypes of the Seljúk "Lion and the Sun," which has descended to the Persians as their national symbol. See Marsden's "Num. Orient.," pl. vi. No. 89, &c.).

No. 12. *Obv.*—Two wrestlers engaged in conflict.

*Rev.*—Slinger, in shirt of mail; triquetra to the front; below, Π. Legend, εσΤϜΕΔιιυς.

EDWARD THOMAS.




SUN SYMBOLS II. GREEK COINS.

# IV.

## ARES AS A SUN-GOD, AND SOLAR SYMBOLS ON THE COINS OF MACEDON AND THRACE.

THE opinions recently propounded by Mr. Thomas as to the origin and meaning of the symbols called the triquetra and svastika, are so similar to those already set forth by Dr. L. Müller that it is hard to refuse assent to the verdict at which the two authorities have independently arrived. There are, indeed, points in the papers both of Dr. Müller and Mr. Thomas with which we are by no means bound to agree because we accept their theory in its general form.

But my present purpose is not to criticize, but to produce a somewhat independent chain of evidence as to solar symbols. The previous writers have by no means exhausted the field, although their excursions in it have been wide and various. My plan is quite dissimilar to theirs. I intend to confine myself strictly to numismatics, and even to the numismatics of a particular district. The indications of solar worship on coins of Macedon and Thrace have, I believe, escaped both M. Müller and Mr. Thomas; it would, therefore, appear that they are not obvious, and that I shall be doing good service in setting them forth.

I must begin with a few words as to the character of

the original sun-god of the Thracians and Macedonians, who was known to the Greeks as Ares. The later Greeks, and even to some extent Homer, thought of Ares as a barbarian, a fierce lover of strife and battle, insatiable with carnage and a rejoicer in sieges and sacks. They regarded him as the representative of the fierce Thracians of later times, and even of their Scythian neighbours. But there was an earlier time, as Professor Curtius has well pointed out, when Thrace and the Thracians had a milder and less savage reputation. And Welcker[1] has proved that the national deity of Thrace, Ares, was in the origin less a god of war than the god of the sun. He was the head of the Thracian Pantheon, and the consort of the goddess Bendis or of the other great foreign deity of the Hellenic Olympus, the Sidonian Aphrodite.

It is notable how many of the male deities of the semi-Hellenic races of Europe and Asia Minor were of the solar class. The Zeus of Cilicia was solar, so was the Zeus of Laodicea in Phrygia. So was also the Zeus Stratios or Labrandeus, the national deity of Caria, who, like the Thracian Ares, is represented as armed and as pre-eminently a god of battle. A solar character also belongs to the Zeus of Heliopolis in Syria and to the Asiatic deity adopted by the Greeks of Rhodes, and to the Lycian god whom the Greeks called Apollo.

We find even in Greece traces of an early worship of Ares as god of sun and sky, a rival of Zeus and Apollo. Thus at Elis Ares was perhaps an older inhabitant than Zeus, who even adopted from him the epithet Ἄρειος. In Boeotia the worship of Apollo was introduced at no early period; his place had been previously occupied by Ares,

[1] "Gr. Götterlehre," i. pp. 413—424.

two of whose sons led to Troy the men of Aspledon and Orchomenus, and whose daughter Harmonia became the wife of Cadmus. Even at Athens we find a hill called the Areiopagus; and whatever explanation of that name may be given by late writers, it remains almost certain that it is a survival from a time when Ares was worshipped as a god of sun and weather on the hill-tops of Attica. The wolf was in Greece the symbol alternately of the Lycian Apollo and of Ares.

At Argos Ares, who was called the son of the Argive Hera, was superseded in pre-historic times by Apollo, who appropriated his emblem, the wolf. In other parts of Greece the same change took place, until Ares, the god of the country of Orpheus, came to be regarded as entirely averse to culture and an enemy to the greater gods of the Hellenic Pantheon.

In Thrace, however, it would appear that Ares retained both his lofty position and his character of sun-god. He was regarded as the father of the rivers Hebrus and Strymon and the heroes Sithon and Olynthus. The Macedonian[2] kings, when they wished for political reasons to be considered as Hellenes, called their sun-god Apollo or Herakles. The head of Herakles occurs often on the money of Archelaus, Perdiccas III., and other princes. On the coins of other kings we frequently find a young male head bound with a taenia, which may, perhaps, be that of Apollo, although in cases when, as on the coins of Amyntas II. and the city of Scione (Pl. IV. No. 10), a young male head appears on one face of the coin and a

[2] Macedon was as much the home of Ares as Thrace, as may be judged from the epitaph of Demosthenes:—

Εἴπερ ἴσην ῥώμην γνώμῃ, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,
Οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

helmet on the other, we are tempted to prefer the attribution to Ares. The money of Philippi, a city founded by Philip II. in the neighbourhood of the Thracian gold-mines, bears on one side the head of Herakles, on the other the Delphic tripod, thus combining the attributes of the two Greek sun-gods. But in the head on the plentiful gold staters of Philip II., which have a chariot on the reverse, I certainly incline to see a representation of Ares. This head has sometimes been taken for that of Apollo, sometimes for that of Herakles, and in fact it is in type midway between the two. But its true character will appear on confronting it with the Ares of the coins of the Mamertini, the children of Mamers or Ares. The inscription on their coins is ΑΡΕΟΣ, and the head of the deity (Pl. IV. No. 3) so nearly resembles in all details the head on the coins of Philip (Pl. IV. Nos. 1, 2) as to leave small doubt of the Mamertine coins being copied from the Macedonian. It should be observed that while the gold money of Alexander circulated largely in Asia, that of Philip was current in all parts of the West during the third century B.C. We may imagine that it was sufficiently familiar to the plundering Mamertine.

The Mamertine head bears a laurel wreath, and shows other signs of assimilation to Apollo. But the legend proves beyond a doubt that it was intended for Ares, and it appears to me that this evidence is sufficient to show the head on Philip's coin to belong also to Ares. In addition we may remark that the thick neck and short clustering hair of the deity on both classes of coins set it quite apart from heads of Apollo, such as that on the coins of the Macedonian Chalcis. Another slight corroboration of this view in the specimen of the Mamertine coinage selected for my plate is to be found in the small Macedonian hel-

met inserted as a symbol behind the head of Ares. This may serve to give a clue to the real character of the deity with whom it is associated. A head of different character, which may not improbably be meant for that of Ares, occurs on the silver coins of Chalcedon, on the obverse of a piece which has on the reverse a radiate wheel, which is clearly, as we shall presently see, a solar type. This head is bare and bearded (Pl. IV. No. 18), as is the head of Ares on early vases. Chalcedon, it is true, is not a Thracian city, being situate on the other side of the straits, in Bithynia. But it was yet subject to Thracian influence, being, indeed, a mere dependency of the Thracian Byzantium, from the coinage of which city almost all the Chalcedonian types are borrowed.

It is easy to understand why Alexander did not continue the types of his father's gold coins. Deeply steeped as he was in the Iliad, he could never have endured to let Ares, the patron of Troy, appear as his guardian deity. In the place of the destroying avenger was substituted the truly Greek Pallas, the type of ordered war and scientific generalship.

Let us now turn to the coins of Macedon, to see what symbols of Ares and of the sun occur on them, and whether these are the same or different.

No one can have glanced even rapidly at the Macedonian coins without remarking the frequent recurrence of a peculiar helmet and a peculiar shield, both of which are specially characterized as Macedonian. If we look at the matter in the light of probability, we shall see that these emblems are very well fitted to a war-god like Ares, who is seldom anywhere represented as unarmed. In one of the Homeric hymns (No. 7) Ares is specially spoken of as χρυσεοπήληξ, or golden-helmeted, and as φέρασπις, or

shield-bearing. Possibly to the sun-god a helmet may not seem very appropriate, although to a primitive race the rising or setting sun might well seem—

"A golden helmet that shines far off like flame."[3]

But the round shield is still more evidently an appropriate emblem of the sun, as Scott[4] may witness—

"With disk like battle-target red,
He rushes to his burning bed."

It is thus not wonderful that in many countries the sun-god has been thought of as armed. The bow was more especially appropriated to him in Greece; but the Carian battle-axe and the Thracian shield are equally suitable.

However, it is time to turn from mere probabilities to facts, and trace the actual history of the Macedonian shield and helmet. The shield occurs first on some small pieces of electrum, with incuse reverse (Plate IV. No. 5); next as a symbol on the coins of Philip and Alexander, but in this case on so small a scale that its details are not to be made out. It occurs as a type on the coins issued by Eupolemus, General of Cassander, and after that becomes common. The border of the shield consists of a series of crescents, each of which encloses a star or a pellet. The crescent and star on ancient coins stand, as Mr. Thomas rightly remarks, for sun and moon. In the midst are a series of symbols or devices. In some cases these belong to the king who struck the coin: thus we find on pieces issued by Antigonus II., Demetrius II., and Pyrrhus the monograms of those kings: and on pieces issued by Antiochus I. of Syria his arms, the elephant.

[3] Macaulay, "Battle of the Lake Regillus."
[4] "Rokeby," canto vi.

In some cases the symbol may refer to the arms of the mint-city, for we find in this position, on coins bearing the name of no king, the club, the caduceus, the torch, and other well-known Macedonian mint-marks. But there are other symbols which cannot be so explained. The eight-rayed star marks the coinage of Demetrius II. His successors substitute in the midst of the shield a wheel-like device. The form (Pl. IV. No. 6) occurs on the money of Philip V. and Perseus, as well as on tetradrachms of Macedonia Prima and Amphaxitis, and (Pl. IV. Nos. 7, 8) on the late coins of the Bottiaeans of Emathia as well as (Pl. IV. No. 9).

These three devices and the star cannot in these cases signify a mint. In the collection of the British Museum, which is extensive, the star is the only device appearing on the shield of the coins of Demetrius, except when his monogram takes its place. So far as I am aware, none of the shield-coins of Philip and Perseus have any other symbol besides the wheel-pattern in some form and the head of Perseus, which is introduced in allusion to the king's name, and no symbol except this pattern appears on any of the shield-coins issued by the Bottiaeans of Emathia. It is clear, then, that both star and wheel pattern belong to the shield, not to the mint which issued the coins. And considering that the whole Macedonian shield is of astronomical pattern, and belongs specially to a deity who is worshipped as the sun, it seems very reasonable to suppose that in all these devices the intention is to give a representation of the sun.

Let us next briefly investigate the history of the helmet of Ares on coins of Macedon and Thrace. This is a rarer symbol than the shield, but yet not uncommon. It occurs not unfrequently on the coins of the early

Macedonian kings. It occurs also at the city of Byzantium, situated close to that Salmydessus which was, according to Sophocles,[5] the special seat of Ares. And in three instances in particular it seems to recur with distinct solar reference: on the coins of Macedon, which bear on the reverse a shield (Pl. IV. No. 12); on the coins of Mesembria, which have on the reverse a radiate wheel, of which I shall have presently to speak (Pl. IV. No. 19); and on the coins of Orthagoria (Pl. IV. No. 11). It is in the last case that the solar reference is clearest. The helmet at Orthagoria is surmounted by a star raised on a cone, which is a recognised image or symbol of the sun, and recurs with that meaning on the money of Uranopolis (Pl. IV. No. 15). It appears to me that these facts bear out sufficiently the theory to which we were first led by the antecedent probabilities of the case.

If still further evidence be required it is forthcoming. On turning to the imperial coins of Macedon, we find (Pl. IV. No. 4) a figure clad as a warrior wearing a helmet and holding a wreath and sword. In the field, detached as a symbol, is a shield. This figure has usually been described as a Roman emperor;[6] but emperors do not appear helmeted on Greek coins, nor does the round shield seem a likely emblem for a Roman general. I prefer to see in this figure a full-length representation of the national deity Ares in his ordinary dress and holding the wreath with which he is to reward a victorious hero. In Roman times Ares identified with Mars would naturally win back the honour he had lost in the days when Pallas was predominant in Greece.

But helmet and shield are not the only symbols of the

[5] "Antigone," 970.

[6] "Cat. Coins, Macedon," p. 27. Mionnet, *s. v.*

Thracian sun-god. The rose is another. In old times the mountain ranges of Haemus and Pangaeum, which Callimachus mentions as specially belonging to Ares, were already celebrated for their roses, which are now largely grown in the same region for purposes of trade. The rose is frequently represented on the coins of the Pangaean district, and specially distinguishes the money of Traelium in Macedon (Pl. IV. No. 14). But there is no more obvious symbol of the sun than the round red rose. And that the ancients thought thus is sufficiently proved by the instance of Rhodes, in which island the rose is the regular emblem of Helios. On later coins of Rhodes the flower is arranged into the pattern of a wheel (Pl. IV. No. 20), still with reference to the revolving red disc of the sun. Sometimes at Rhodes the rose is even radiate.

It has been pointed out, both by Dr. Müller and Mr. Thomas, that the wheel is frequently a solar symbol. It is so both as in itself an image of the revolving sun, and as a sign or epitome of the chariot in which Helios was supposed to travel through the sky. I will not insist upon this rendering in the case of the Macedonian coins, because when the wheel occurs upon them it seems clearly to be the wheel of the chariot which is so usual on early Macedonian coins, such as those of the Bisaltae, and which does not appear to be a solar chariot, but to be a clumsy and matter-of-fact conveyance specially belonging to the country. It is indeed often drawn by oxen instead of horses. But the wheel when it takes certain forms does seem more closely connected with the sun. Of the wheel which is made up of crescents I have already spoken. Another form usual on Macedonian coins is ✪. This form may very well be solar. It appears on coins of Acanthus (Pl. IV. No. 13) as an

alternative for the *svastika*. It is also held in the hand of a running winged figure who may be a form of the god of the sun, and who appears on a coin brought to Mr. Borrell at Salonica.[7]

There are many other figures and symbols on Macedonian coins which may well be solar. Among these I may mention the lion, especially when he is attacking the bull, as on the coins of Acanthus; the winged horse, who may be different from the Corinthian Pegasus; and the wolf, who appears not seldom on the money of the Macedonian kings. All these I pass by, partly in order to keep my paper within reasonable limits, and partly because there is not much to say with regard to these animals which has not been said before. I also pass by the specially Apolline types, such as the lyre of Chalcidice, and the torch which makes its appearance as a symbol of Apollo on the money of Amphipolis.

There is, however, one set of Macedonian coins which claims a special attention, even though it belong to a late and allegorizing age.

One of the most remarkable sets of coins in the whole Greek series is that issued by Uranopolis. This city was founded by a man notably eccentric, Alexarchus, brother of Cassander, King of Macedon, and the coinage itself seems to bear the same stamp of eccentricity.[8] On it we find varied representations of all the heavenly bodies. The sun appears under several forms (1) as a disc or globe surrounded by rays (Pl. IV. No. 15); (2) as a star

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[7] "Cat. Greek Coins, Macedon," p. 136. See also Canon Greenwell's remarks, *supra*, p. 4, Pl. I. No. 3.

[8] See "Cat. Gr. Coins, Macedon," pp. xxxii. 133, *sq*. Also, "Das Königl. Münzkabinet," p. 111, "Zeitschr. für Numism." vol. v. pl. i. 2.

of eight rays (Pl. IV. Nos. 16, 17); (3) as a star placed on the top of a cone (Pl. IV. No. 15). The rayed disc is the equivalent alike of the shield and of the rayed wheel, both of which we find at an earlier period. And with the cone supporting the star we may compare the *omphalos*, on which Apollo frequently sits. Kuhn attributes to this omphalos a solar reference, and there is no doubt that the conical stone at Heliopolis symbolized the sun. The moon on the coins of Uranopolis is uniformly represented by a crescent (Pl. IV. No. 17). The five planets also appear under the guise of eight-rayed stars.[9] In addition there is a globe, on which Urania sits, and which may stand for the world itself.

The goddess worshipped most at Uranopolis was Aphrodite Urania, to whom the town gave a peculiar character. But it is likely that the armed Sidonian deity Astarte, who was her original, had long had a footing in Macedon as consort of the Thracian Ares.

Turning to the coins of Thrace, we find in many cities traces of solar worship of which we may rapidly dispose. Perhaps the most interesting city under this aspect is Mesembria, a city whose name has been considered of doubtful derivation. But Mesembria as it stands is simply the Greek word for noon or mid-day (μεσημβρία), and there can be little doubt that the Greek inhabitants would suppose their city to be the place of noon. Among the coins of Mesembria the following occur :— [10]

*Obv.*—Crested helmet seen in front.

*Rev.*—ΜΕΣΗΒΡΙΑ between the four spokes of a wheel, surrounded by converging lines or rays.

Æ. Wt. 19·4 grs. Pl. IV. No. 19.

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[9] On a coin at Berlin, "K. Münzkabinet," p. 111.

[10] Nos. 2 and 4, "Cat. Gr. Coins, Thrace."

*Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*—ΜΕΣΗ. Similar.

Æ. Wt. 4·8 grs.

Copper coins occur with the same types.

After what is above said, it will, I imagine, be easily conceded that the helmet on the obverse of these pieces is the type of the Thracian Ares, and the wheel on the reverse with its border of rays is meant for the sun shining at noon. The svastika emblem occurs very opportunely to confirm the theory. Strabo says that Mesembria was a colony of the Megarians. So it is interesting to find as reverse types at their mother-city the figures and on two coins weighing respectively 50·4 and 23 grains, which have on the obverse the head of Apollo. I have little doubt that these also are solar emblems; that the Apollo of Megara was solar, and that the Megarian colonists at Mesembria identified him with the Ares whom they found in Thrace in possession of the country.

Turning the pages of the catalogue of Thracian coins, one finds at various other cities traces of sun- and moon-worship. The crescent and star (sun and moon) are usual types at Byzantium, as is the Macedonian helmet on imperial coins. Crescents with stars, sometimes three or four, occur also on imperial coins of Marcianopolis, Pautalia, and Philippopolis. Whether in this case the stars are really stars, or merely signify aspects or periods of the sun, seems doubtful. Finally, at Samothrace,[11] a globe or shield adorned with a star occurs on late coins behind the head of Pallas.

[11] "Cat. Thrace," p. 215.

shield-bearing. Possibly to the sun-god a helmet may not seem very appropriate, although to a primitive race the rising or setting sun might well seem—

"A golden helmet that shines far off like flame."[3]

But the round shield is still more evidently an appropriate emblem of the sun, as Scott[4] may witness—

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alternative for the *svastika*. It is also held in the hand of a running winged figure who may be a form of the god of the sun, and who appears on a coin brought to Mr. Borrell at Salonica.[7]

There are many other figures and symbols on Macedonian coins which may well be solar. Among these I may mention the lion, especially when he is attacking the bull, as on the coins of Acanthus; the winged horse, who may be different from the Corinthian Pegasus; and the wolf, who appears not seldom on the money of the Macedonian kings. All these I pass by, partly in order to keep my paper within reasonable limits, and partly because there is not much to say with regard to these animals which has not been said before. I also pass by the specially Apolline types, such as the lyre of Chalcidice, and the torch which makes its appearance as a symbol of Apollo on the money of Amphipolis.

There is, however, one set of Macedonian coins which claims a special attention, even though it belong to a late and allegorizing age.

One of the most remarkable sets of coins in the whole Greek series is that issued by Uranopolis. This city was founded by a man notably eccentric, Alexarchus, brother of Cassander, King of Macedon, and the coinage itself seems to bear the same stamp of eccentricity.[8] On it we find varied representations of all the heavenly bodies. The sun appears under several forms (1) as a disc or globe surrounded by rays (Pl. IV. No. 15); (2) as a star

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[7] "Cat. Greek Coins, Macedon," p. 136. See also Canon Greenwell's remarks, *supra*, p. 4, Pl. I. No. 3.

[8] See "Cat. Gr. Coins, Macedon," pp. xxxii. 133, *sq*. Also, "Das Königl. Münzkabinet," p. 111, "Zeitschr. für Numism." vol. v. pl. i. 2.

of eight rays (Pl. IV. Nos. 16, 17); (3) as a star placed on the top of a cone (Pl. IV. No. 15). The rayed disc is the equivalent alike of the shield and of the rayed wheel, both of which we find at an earlier period. And with the cone supporting the star we may compare the *omphalos*, on which Apollo frequently sits. Kuhn attributes to this omphalos a solar reference, and there is no doubt that the conical stone at Heliopolis symbolized the sun. The moon on the coins of Uranopolis is uniformly represented by a crescent (Pl. IV. No. 17). The five planets also appear under the guise of eight-rayed stars.[9] In addition there is a globe, on which Urania sits, and which may stand for the world itself.

The goddess worshipped most at Uranopolis was Aphrodite Urania, to whom the town gave a peculiar character. But it is likely that the armed Sidonian deity Astarte, who was her original, had long had a footing in Macedon as consort of the Thracian Ares.

Turning to the coins of Thrace, we find in many cities traces of solar worship of which we may rapidly dispose. Perhaps the most interesting city under this aspect is Mesembria, a city whose name has been considered of doubtful derivation. But Mesembria as it stands is simply the Greek word for noon or mid-day (μεσημβρία), and there can be little doubt that the Greek inhabitants would suppose their city to be the place of noon. Among the coins of Mesembria the following occur :—[10]

*Obv.*—Crested helmet seen in front.

*Rev.*—ΜΕϢΑ between the four spokes of a wheel, surrounded by converging lines or rays.

Æ. Wt. 19·4 grs. Pl. IV. No. 19.

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[9] On a coin at Berlin, "K. Münzkabinet," p. 111.

[10] Nos. 2 and 4, "Cat. Gr. Coins, Thrace."

*Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*—ΜΕΣΗ. Similar.

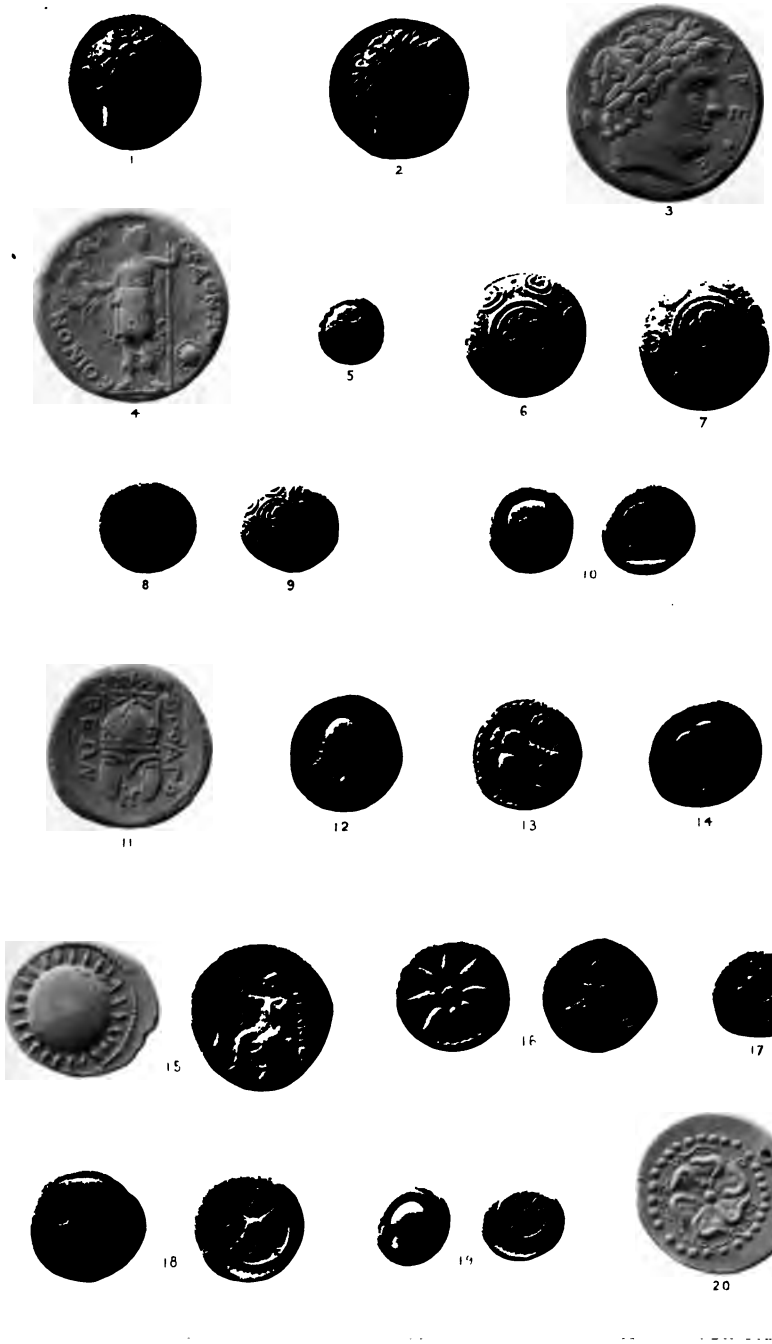
Æ. Wt. 4·8 grs.

Copper coins occur with the same types.

After what is above said, it will, I imagine, be easily conceded that the helmet on the obverse of these pieces is the type of the Thracian Ares, and the wheel on the reverse with its border of rays is meant for the sun shining at noon. The svastika emblem occurs very opportunely to confirm the theory. Strabo says that Mesembria was a colony of the Megarians. So it is interesting to find as reverse types at their mother-city the figures 卐 and 卐 on two coins weighing respectively 50·4 and 23 grains, which have on the obverse the head of Apollo. I have little doubt that these also are solar emblems; that the Apollo of Megara was solar, and that the Megarian colonists at Mesembria identified him with the Ares whom they found in Thrace in possession of the country.

Turning the pages of the catalogue of Thracian coins, one finds at various other cities traces of sun- and moon-worship. The crescent and star (sun and moon) are usual types at Byzantium, as is the Macedonian helmet on imperial coins. Crescents with stars, sometimes three or four, occur also on imperial coins of Marcianopolis, Pautalia, and Philippopolis. Whether in this case the stars are really stars, or merely signify aspects or periods of the sun, seems doubtful. Finally, at Samothrace,[11] a globe or shield adorned with a star occurs on late coins behind the head of Pallas.

[11] "Cat. Thrace," p. 215.




SOLAR SYMBOLS ON COINS OF THRACE AND MACEDON.

As sun-worship was the most widely diffused cult among the Aryan nations, it is not wonderful that one cannot look for indications of it in Greek coins without finding them in every direction. I am greatly tempted to go on to the coins of Lycia, Rhodes, and Caria, but for the present stop resolutely short on the frontiers of Macedon.

PERCY GARDNER.

## V.

## ON SILVER COINS OF EANRED AND ETHELRED II., OF NORTHUMBRIA.

ALTHOUGH Hawkins (2nd edit. pp. 71, 74, and 75) doubts the existence of a silver coinage in Northumbria during the reigns of Eanred and Ethelred II., and considers the pieces struck in silver, resembling the stycas, "as caprices of some one engaged in the mint," and that it was "highly improbable that they should have formed part of the general currency of the country," I have long ventured to hold a different opinion. It has always appeared to me incredible that an ancient and a powerful kingdom like Northumbria should have only a copper coinage, and that limited to stycas or half-farthings, whilst each of the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy possessed a silver coinage of its own. The non-discovery of stycas outside Northumbria almost conclusively proves that they were current in that kingdom only, and indirectly supports the contention that the Northumbrians had a silver currency at this period, unless we are to conclude that there was no commercial intercourse between them and the other parts of England. The mere fact of a few only of these "anomalous pieces in silver" being known, does not of necessity prove that they were not issued as pennies or sceattæ.

In my collection of 66 stycas of Eanred, and 113 of Ethelred II., I have 21 of these "anomalous pieces" (15 of Eanred and 6 of Ethelred), which, from their weight and metal, I have no hesitation in designating sceattæ or pennies. I append a list of them, with their respective weights, which appear to be equal to those of the heaviest and in excess of the great majority of the pennies of the period. It will be observed that the 21 coins have been struck by twelve different moneyers, a somewhat large number to have indulged in the "caprice" of striking stycas in silver, unless they were intended to pass current at their real value.

EANRED. A.D. 808—840.

1. *Obv.*—+EAИRED R. Small cross.
   *Rev.*—+BRODR. Small cross.
   Wt. 22¾ grs.

2. *Obv.*—EANRED REX (retrograde). A pellet.
   *Rev.*—ΓΨNVVLF. A pellet.
   Wt. 21 grs.

3. *Obv.*—+EANRED REX. Small cross.
   *Rev.*—+DAEGBERΓT. Small cross.
   Wt. 19¼ grs.

4. *Obv.*—EANRED REX. Small cross.
   *Rev.*—+DAEGBERΓT. Small cross.
   Wt. 21¼ grs.

5. *Obv.*—+EANRED REX. Small cross.
   *Rev.*—+EADVINI. Small cross.
   Wt. 20⅝ grs.

6. *Obv.*—+EΛNRED REX. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+EΛD+VINI. Small cross.

Wt. $20\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

7. *Obv.*—+ЄΛNΛ+EDΛЄ. Pellet within a circle of dots.

*Rev.*—+EΛDVINI. Pellet within a circle of dots.

Wt. 22 grs.

8. *Obv.*—+EΛNRED REX. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+HERRED. Small cross.

Wt. $20\frac{5}{8}$ grs.

9. *Obv.*—+EANRED REX. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+HVAETRED. Small cross.

Wt. $18\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

10. *Obv.*—+ƎΛNRED REX. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+MO ИNE. Small cross.

Wt. $22\frac{5}{8}$ grs.

11. *Obv.*—+ƎΛNRED REX. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+MONN · E · Pellet within a circle.

Wt. $21\frac{7}{8}$ grs.

12. *Obv.*—+EĀNRED REX. Pellet within a circle.

*Rev.*—+VILHEĀH. Pellet within a circle.

Wt. $20\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

13. *Obv.*—+EĀNRED REX. Pellet within a circle.

*Rev.*—+VILHEĀH. Pellet within a circle.

Wt. $19\frac{5}{8}$ grs.

14. *Obv.*—+EΛNRED REX. Pellet within a circle.

*Rev.*—+VILHEĀH. Pellet within a circle.

Wt. $19\frac{3}{8}$ grs.

15. *Obv.*—EANRED REX. Pellet within a circle.

*Rev.*—+VILHEAH. Pellet within a circle.

Wt. 19 grs.

## ETHELRED II. A.D. 840—848.

16. *Obv.*—+EDILRED REX. Cross with pellet in each angle.

*Rev.*—+EANRED. Pellet within a circle.

Wt. $23\frac{5}{8}$ grs.

17. *Obv.*—+EDILRED RE. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+EA ᛗ RED. Small cross.

Wt. $24\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

18. *Obv.*—EDIL · REDE R. Cross of five pellets.

*Rev.*—+EARDAALF. A pellet.

Wt. 24 grs.

19. *Obv.*—+EDELRED RE. Cross of five pellets.

*Rev.*—+FORDRED. Cross of five pellets.

Wt. $19\frac{7}{8}$ grs.

20. *Obv.*—+EDILRED REX. Cross with pellet in each angle.

*Rev.*—+LEOFDEGN. Small cross.

Wt. $23\frac{5}{8}$ grs.

21. *Obv.*—+EDILREDC. X. Small cross.

*Rev.*—+MO ᛗ NE · Small cross.

Wt. 23 grs.

Nos. 1, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 appear to be of pure silver, and the others of base silver.

A. B. CREEKE.

# VI.

## COINS OF THE STAFFORD MINT.

RUDING's notice of the Stafford Mint is very brief; he says, "When Æthelstan regulated the coinage in the year 928, this town was of sufficient importance to be favoured with a mint. It does not, however, appear in the list which was given of the places where mints were established; but coins of that monarch are still extant, having on the reverse STEF or STF. A penny of Æthelred II. reads STÆTH, which was probably intended for this place. Cnut has also a coin with STÆ on the reverse. In Doomsday Book this mint is not noticed, nor has it yet been found upon any coin after the Norman Conquest."

Since Ruding's time we have added to the list of Stafford coins a few more, ranging from Æthelstan to King Stephen; but as everybody is aware the number is very small. I have recently acquired one of Edward the Confessor, struck by a moneyer whose name, new in respect to any money issued from that mint, has this additional claim to notice, that excepting another, in the Museum, it is the only representative of his Stafford Mint at present known. It is of type VIII. in Mr. Head's list, like (Pl. XVII.) 222 in Hawkins', and reads +ΕVLLINΕ ON ꝏTΛFFO.

The possibility of its having been coined, not at Stafford but at Stamford (one of the two letters F being a blunder for N), was taken into consideration when I submitted the coin to the scrutiny of Mr. Sharp, F.S.A., whose vigilance and zeal in behalf of the Stamford Mint are well known. Mr. Sharp agrees with me in believing this coin to be Stafford-minted; indeed, there is nothing about it to suggest another idea, no blundering in type or legend. Nor is the moneyer's name altogether new; though for the like of it we have to look onwards to the mintage of the neighbouring town, Tamworth. And here, before proceeding further to say what I have to say about any coins of Stafford, I desire to note the assistance which occasionally may be obtained for numismatic inquiry from the mintage of neighbouring towns, through likeness of, or identity in, the moneyers' names. This subject is not novel, but I revert to it for that reason.

In the very interesting account of the "City Find" in 1872, given to us by Mr. Willett ("N. C.," vol. xvi., p. 327), he has analyzed, in Table V., the evidence afforded by that hoard, with the view of testing a "theory" on this subject put forward by me nearly twenty years ago ("N. C." 1862, p. 237). Mr. Willett's opinion was unfavourable to my theory, and he asked for evidence. About a speculative question of this character no one would pretend to be positive, for this simple reason, if for no other, that he cannot imagine we possess in those which have come down to us specimens of all the coins produced at the time. I therefore lay no great stress on that conjecture of mine, though I felt then, as I feel now, that it appears to smooth away some difficulties, which present themselves if we regard all the names of moneyers at all the mints as representing each

a separate person. This, I presume, is the common view. Is it itself unassailable?

That the word "ON" in the reverse legend of an Anglo-Saxon penny probably means "in," and not "of," is what I then advanced; and, that the word has that meaning often in records contemporary with the coins is undisputed. The contention is, may we suppose it carries that meaning on a coin? I confess I have no documentary evidence to prove it. Such evidence is little likely ever to be produced; but with certain facts before us, we are at liberty to draw our conclusions; moreover, a passage in Ruding's account of the moneyers (vol. i. p. 49), which escaped my attention formerly, as it probably escaped Mr. Willett's attention when he commented on my paper, will be found, I think, to add substance to the conclusion thus challenged. Quoting from the manuscript of one who is cited as "a very accurate numismatic antiquary," we find this: "There are many reasons to believe that the Saxon kings were always attended by monetarii, who frequently coined money for the present exigencies in towns where the king rested, which will account for our finding money minted in obscure places, and that perhaps only once." Ruding's own observation on this was, "I know not of what kind the many reasons might be which he has alluded to above, but it will not be easy to assign one more satisfactory than that which he has given for the appearance of towns of such little importance under the character of mints." Now, regarding such cases as these, if the "monetarius" accompanied the king from place to place, then "*in*" and not "*of*" must obviously be the meaning of the word "ON," the only suitable meaning for the word to bear. But I say more than this; our allowing "ON" in

the legend to have that meaning, does dispose of difficulties in the case of the moneyers—which difficulties, left as they are, seem harder to get over than my conjecture. Assume each name to represent a person in each town named on its coinage, and what a multitude you have! Why, the moneyers of the Confessor amount to hundreds, even after running together different forms of the same name. Out of the 1,721 coins which were examined of the Chancton find, by taking each name to represent an individual moneyer in each mint, there were more than 260 moneyers represented in the coins of that find. Now, any question as to their number or apparent number is affected by our considering what the exact position of this class was in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. It seems to have been repeatedly made matter for debate in after times; the most reasonable idea propounded lying midway between the conflicting statements. If the moneyers were not noble — men of great consequence, neither were they of humble degree—mere artisans. The fines payable by an offender on conviction of wrongdoing, forbid us to think the last; and Brompton's translation of the laws of Æthelred is quoted in Ruding to satisfy us that the *monetarii* were employers of other men's labour, in days when the employment of other men's labour was not common, as it became. I imagine these considerations cannot fail to affect our views, if the moneyers, being already exceedingly numerous, are made more numerous still by our common mode of reckoning. Let us, however, falling in with the ordinary opinion, and taking Mr. Willett's exhaustive account of the "City Find," select a name which may or may not have been a common name among them. Consult Table V. (p. 385). In fifteen mints a Godwine's name appears; and proofs

of the handiwork of eight of these fifteen Godwines appear simultaneously in type I. Not so in others. Others give us only one apiece.

Now if there really were fifteen Godwines, moneyers, one in each town, what were they all about, contributing to some types none, to others next to none? How is it they combine by a common impulse to contribute so much to type I.? And, further, is it a mere coincidence that six out of eight Godwines contributing to type I. were resident in towns on the eastern side of England? In fairness I have examined other names beside that of Godwine, and similar questions rise up in my own mind as I do so; so that in default of better explanation, I am still disposed to hold on to that which commended itself to me as probable a good many years ago—to think still that there were not fifteen Godwines, but *perhaps only one*, with his headquarters in London, striking money for the king; *in* London, five types; *in* Stamford and Thetford, four; *in* Huntingdon and Winchester, three; *in* Chichester, Maldon, and Norwich, two; and *in* seven others, only one.

Without presuming to assert that all cases are covered by such a conjecture, I now proceed to make use of it in dealing with this coin of Stafford, the moneyer of which was LVLLINE: a name altogether new to us as regards Stafford, but not new to us in connection with the neighbouring mint at Tamworth. The two towns stand apart, I believe, at a distance of twenty or twenty-five miles. Well, the Tamworth find of 1877 ("N. C.," vol. xvii. p. 340) presented us with six, if not seven, welcome coins of William Rufus's reign, from the mint of Stafford, and with thirty-three from that of Tamworth itself; of which twelve bear the name of a moneyer, LOLIN, or

ƐOLINƐ, or ƐVLINƐ. The name of that moneyer also occurred among the pennies of the Williams found at Beaworth, thus: ƐOLIƐ ON TΛMƿRƐ.[1] And my inference is consequently this, that in Stafford (ON STΛFFO), as evidenced by the coin before us, as in Tamworth (ON TΛMƿRƐ), as proved by those described above, a man (it may be a family, members of the same craft) bearing the name Cullinc was to be found coining for the Crown, from the middle till towards the end of the eleventh century, the office he held being his in one town as well as in the other.

With the proofs we possess, scanty as they are, of the working of a mint at Stafford during a number of reigns from 925 to 1154, ought not certain coins, which have become connected with the more prolific Stamford Mint, to be looked at again, and dealt with by some such rule as this?—that whenever STΛ is read, associated with others of the same moneyer, reading STΛN,[2] &c., then to allow the case for Stamford to be judged clear; but if otherwise, to leave the case open until more evidence be forthcoming.

I add to this paper a list of some of the Stafford coins, the claim of which to be so called appearing unquestionable—a list of necessity incomplete, but one which perhaps may stir up some other member of the Society, more favourably situated than I am, to try to secure for it greater completeness.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

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[1] The Tamworth find also had among four coins of the Bristol Mint one reading ƐOLINIƐ ON BRIƐ.

[2] Like BOIA MO STΛF, which moneyer has also STΛNF and STΛNFOR.

## List of Coins minted at Stafford.

| KINGS. | NOTICE IN RUDING. | COINS. | AUTHORITIES. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Æthelstan. | "His coins still extant, reading STF. STEF." Vol. ii. p. 215. | VVIMVND Mo STFOR<br>EΛRDVLF Mo STEF | Capt. Murchison's sale, p. 28, May, 1866, lots 254, 257. |
| Æthelred II. | "A penny reads STΛETÐ on reverse." | | |
| Cnut. | Stafford included in his mints STEF. STΛE. Vol. i. p. 138. | ΛELFRIC ON STÆ | Capt. Murchison's sale, 1866, p. 35, lot 308. |
| Harold I. | Among the mints STΛ for Stafford or Stamford, p. 140. | ƿILRIN ON STΛF | Mr. Sharp's list of Stamford coins, Num. Chron. vol. ix. 1869, inserted with "Query, Stafford?" |
| Edward the Confessor. | | ÆLFRIC ON STΛFORDE | British Museum. Hawkins, *new Edition.* |
| | | LVLLINC ON STΛFFO | Canon Pownall's cabinet. |
| Harold II. | Among his mints STΛ and STΛI, assigned to Stamford. | | |
| William I. | STΛI assigned to Stamford. STEFFOR to Stafford. | GODƿINE ON STEFFOR | Mr. Bergne's sale, 1873, lot 291. |
| | | CODƿINE ON STIEF | Beaworth find. In sales of Cuff, Murchison, and Bergne. |
| | | ƿVLFNOD ON STEFF<br>Of Hawkins type 244. | Coin sale of a gentleman, January, 1860, lot 112, assigned to Stepney! |

LIST—*continued.*

| KINGS. | NOTICE IN RUDING. | COINS. | AUTHORITIES. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wm. Rufus. | | LODRIE ON STΛFRE<br>LODRIE ON ST . . . . D<br>Of type 246, Hawkins. | Num. Chron. vol. xvii. p. 345, found at Tamworth, and now in Canon Pownall's cabinet. |
| | | ÆLFNOÐ ON STF (two) | Tamworth find. |
| | | ODRIE ON STFRDI (two) | Ditto. |
| | | EDLLΛERD ON STΛ | Ditto. |
| Stephen. | | LODRIE ON STΛFO: | B.M. Hawkins, pl. xxi. 270. |

## MISCELLANEA.

IRISH COINS MINTED AT BRISTOL.—The interesting article by Dr. Smith, at p. 157 of the last volume of the Chronicle, reminds me that I have some additional extracts from the Public Records (London), which it may be useful to print here as supplementary to Dr. Smith's paper, although they have already appeared in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for December, 1875, in my account of the Bristol Mint.

In the "Domestic State Papers," Edward VI., vol. i., 1547, No. 31, is the indenture of all the gold and silver bullion coined between the 1st May, in the 38th year of Henry VIII. (1546), and the 31st March, in the 1st year of Edward VI. (1547), by "Sir Will$^{m}$ Sharyngton knyght, one of the gentillmen of the k$^{s}$ ma$^{ts}$ most honorable p'vey chamber, and undertreas$^{r}$ of his highnes Mynte w$^{th}$in the Castell of Brystowe."

In the same volume of State Papers, No. 32, is the account of the money coined at the Bristol Mint by Sir Wm. Sharington during the above-named period. The last item in this account is the Irish money made by him, viz. "Harpe Grots of iij oz. ffyne and ix of Allaye—iij$^{m}$. vj$^{c}$. lvij. lb. iv$^{s}$." [£3,657 4s.]

As Henry VIII. died on the 28th January, 1546–7, the coins of this period (1st May, 1546 to 31st March, 1547), only two months of it being in Edward's reign, would no doubt all be from Henry's dies. The "harp groats" in the extract would, therefore, correspond with the "sixpences" of Dr. Smith's "ninth" and "tenth" coinages, and agree very well with the analysis given by him on p. 176, vol. xix., that is, one-fourth part fine. They are probably called "groats" by Sharington because, although current in Ireland for sixpence, they were certainly not equivalent to more than an English groat, being no heavier, and containing even less fine silver.

The other notice of Irish coins which were minted at Bristol refers to some of Edward VI., which are also called "harp groats." In "Domestic State Papers," Edward VI., vol. iv., 1548, No. 3, is another indenture of all bullion of gold and silver coined and made into moneys within the office of Sir William Sharington, in the Mint at Bristol. This document is imperfect, and the date is gone, but it seems to refer to the coinage of the year 1548. It states that in August and September no English money was minted at Bristol "by reason of coyning of Irish mony theis ij moneths." These Irish coins

were—" Harpe grots of iij oz. fyne & ix of Allay." In August—" $\overset{1}{m}\overset{1}{m}$. li. w$^{t}$."—2,000 pounds weight. In September—" m vj$^{c}$ lvij. li. w$^{t}$."—1,657 pounds weight. Total, 3,657 pounds weight.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

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UNPUBLISHED ANNULET GROAT OF HENRY V. OR VI.—I have in my collection a variety of the London Annulet Groat, which, I believe, has not yet been described in the Chronicle, and is not given in Kenyon's edition of Hawkins. The type is Mr. Neck's "Great Annulet Coinage, Type I." assigned by him to Henry V. (*vide* Num. Chron., N.S. vol. xi. p. 126); or "Henry VI., Class I., Annulet Coinage," of Mr. Kenyon's edition of Hawkins, p. 227. It is well known that the London annulet groats have the annulets on the reverse only, and none on the obverse at the sides of the king's neck, while the Calais groats of the same type always have the annulets on the obverse. Now the peculiarity of the unpublished groat which I possess is that it clearly has the annulets at the sides of the neck on the obverse, although it is a London coin. Its full description is as follows:—

*Obv.*—ꟻENRIC' × DI' × GRA' × REX × ANGLIE $\overset{\times}{\times}$' FRANC'. M.m. a cross pierced; tressure on breast not fleured; egg-shaped swelling on neck; annulet each side of the neck.

*Rev.*—POSVI ∘ DEVM $\overset{\times}{\times}$ ADIVTORE' × MEVM. M.m. cross pierced; an annulet after POSVI. Inner legend, CIVITAS $\overset{\times}{\times}$ LONDON $\overset{\times}{\times}$. An annulet between the pellets in two quarters.

I shall be glad to hear from any other collector who may have a similar groat. My own specimen is from the great Stamford find. There can be but little doubt that a Calais obverse was accidentally joined to a London reverse.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

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NOTICE OF COINS FOUND AT BACONSTHORPE.—In June, 1878, whilst some men were ploughing in a field in the parish of Baconsthorpe, belonging to J. T. Mott, Esq., of Barningham, Norfolk, the plough struck against an earthenware jar or "olla" of a greyish hue, the upper part of which is much shattered from the force of the blow. It proved to contain a

considerable hoard of Roman coins, chiefly billon of the class called denarii, which were appropriated by the finders, and a large number dispersed before Mr. Mott was acquainted of the fact. It is estimated that there were about 9,000 pieces in the hoard, but from the dispersion of a large number of the coins it is impossible to give a minute account of the whole. Those secured exhibit no new types, although there are many specimens of some rarity, such as the coins of Mariniana, Marius, Quietus, Laelianus, &c., the coins of Gordian III., Philip I., Valerian, Gallienus, Postumus, and Victorinus are by far the most numerous. Very many specimens, especially those of the earlier emperors, belonging to a period when the coinage was not so debased as in later times, are in such a good state of preservation that when the verdigris was removed from the surface they appeared as fresh as if they were only just issued from the mint. The following is a list of the emperors whose coins are represented in this collection; but as to the number of coins of each emperor it is impossible to give definite information, as they have been dispersed among so many hands. Coins of the following were present in the hoard:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Gordianus III. Pius | Gallienus |
| Philip I. | Salonina |
| Otacilia Severa | Saloninus |
| Philip (the son) | Quietus |
| Trajanus Decius | Postumus |
| Etruscilla | Laelianus |
| Herennia | Victorinus |
| Herennius Etruscus | Marius |
| Trebonianus Gallus | Claudius Gothicus |
| Volusianus | Quintillus |
| Æmilianus | Aurelian |
| Valerianus | Tetricus. |
| Mariniana | |

The date which we would assign to the burial of this hoard is about A.D. 271-272, and the period over which the whole hoard extends does not embrace more than thirty-four years, that is from A.D. 238 to A.D. 271. The earliest coin of the hoard is a denarius of Gordian III., having for the reverse type the inscription P.M.TR.P. II. COS. P.P. and a figure of Pax. This coin was issued in A.D. 239, the second year of the reign of Gordian III. The coins to which the latest date can be assigned are two billon denarii of Aurelian. These had for their reverse types PROVIDENT. AVG., with figure of Providentia, and SECVRIT. AVG. with figure of Securitas. So far as it has been possible to ascertain, there were no other

coins of this or of any other later emperor in this hoard. From the character of the coinage of Aurelian, and of the reforms which he effected in the monetary system of Rome, it seems probable that these two coins were issued quite at the commencement of his reign, not later than A.D. 271 or 272. The later denarii of the reign of Aurelian are distinguishable not only by having in all cases the marks of value in either Roman or Greek letters, but also by a difference in style, being executed with much care and skill.

By what chance this jar of coins was buried at Baconsthorpe it is impossible to ascertain; we know so little of the events passing in Britain during the fifty years of Roman rule represented by the coins, that history will guide us but little. This hoard may, however, have formed a portion of a military chest, and as in the case of the Blackmoor find, which is described by Lord Selborne in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S. vol. xvii., may have been buried at the moment of departure of a body of troops from this locality to another. With so few facts at our command it is, however, fruitless to speculate.

M. A. Hogg.

Barningham Hall,
Hanworth.

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Sale of Coins.—The valuable and select Cabinet of Coins and Medals in gold, silver, and copper, formed with great judgment by the late George Sparkes, Esq., was dispersed by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge on the 2nd and 3rd of February, 1880. The greater part of the lots were single pieces, of which the following were the most important, and they sold at very high prices:—Lot 1. John Paleologus VII., of Monferrat, with Greek legend by Pisanello, medal, Æ., s. 8⅞ in. diam., £36. Lot 3. Marquis d'Effiat, 1629, by G. Dupré, medal, Æ., s. 8 in. diam., £55. Lot 7. Etruscus Alexander, medal, Æ., s. 4¾ in. diam., £19 10s. Lot 8. Vicentino Valerio Belli, the renowned gem and medal engraver, medal, Æ., s. 2 in. diam., £15. Lot 22. Martin Princzing, rev. arms, MDXXXII, by Schwartz, medal, Æ., s. 1½ in. diam., £40. Lot 23. Scheuerlein and his wife, MDXXXII., £91. Lot 24. Herman, MDXXIX., candelabrum, &c., £36. Lot 25. Cristof Furer, MDXXVI., arms, £51. Lot 27. Unknown bust, CONTEMPTUS, &c., £63. Lot 28. Melchior Prinzin, rev. VANITAS, &c., medal, Æ., s. 1⅛ in. diam., £20 10s. Lot 29. Ladeuse, fine sulphur and a boxwood medal with carved portraits, probably of Henry VIII. of England and Francis of France, £81. Lot 90. Pertinax, Æ., rev. OPS, £13. Lot 97. Hadrian, medallion, Æ., rev. COS. IIII.,

Hermes, &c., £63. Lot 98. A. Pius, medallion, Æ., rev. COS. III., Emperor crowned by Victory, £38. Lot 99. A. Pius, medallion, Æ., rev. TR. POT. XXI. COS. IIII., two figures standing, &c., £33. Lot 101. Numerian, medallion, Æ., 13, Emperor with Carinus and Præfect haranguing the troops, £20. Lot 109. Brutus, Æ., rev. EID. MAR., cap of liberty between daggers, £16 16s. Lot 110. Augustus, medallion, Æ., rev. sphinx, £11. Lot 134. Tranquillina, Æ., rev. Concord, £28. Lot 139. Postumus, billon, heads of the Emperor and Hercules *jugata*, rev. HERCULI . GADITANO, £13. Lot 147. Perkin Warbeck's groat, £12 12s. Lot 153. Charles I. pattern crown, by Briot, rev. HAUD . ULLI, &c., King on horseback, £26. Lot 157. Charles II., REDDITE crown by T. Simon, £110. This was from the Edmonds, Cuff, and Wigan cabinets, and was exchanged by Mr. Edward Wigan with Mr. Sparkes for the Thomas specimen, which is the finest known. Lot 180. Visconti, Duke of Milan, medal, Æ., 4 in. diam., bust of the duke in armour, rev. the same on horseback, view of a cathedral in the background, below OPUS . PISANI . PICTORIS, £61. Lot 181. Medallion or plaque, Æ., 6 in. diam., chiefs in armour on horseback, others on foot, and females on their knees offering gifts, £17 10s. Lot 182. Gonzaga Hypolita, Æ., 6 in. diam., by Leone Leoni of Arezzo, rev. PAR . UBIQUE . POTESTAS, £18. Lot 185. Louis XIII., Æ., 1½ in. diam., rev. bust of the Dauphin, 1642, £22 10s. Lot 194. Pfintzing Pau, Æ., 2⅛ in. diam., bust in armour, 1556, rev. PATRIÆ . ET . AMICIS, Curtius leaping into the fiery gulf, £19 19s. Lot 198. Duke Christian of Würtemberg, Æ., 1⅞ in. diam., full-faced bust in armour, rev. arms, £19. Lot 214. Louis XVI., proof écu, rev. REGNE . DE . LA . LOI . 1791, £16 10s. Lot 235. Bruttium, Æ., 5, busts of the Dioscuri, rev. the Dioscuri on horseback, £13 15s. Lot 238. Croton, Æ., 5½, ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΣ, crowned head of Juno, rev. nude Hercules reclining on a rock, £16. Lot 245. Leontini, Æ., 7, ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ, head of Apollo to right, a hare in the exergue, rev. quadriga to left, above a Victory, below a lion, £18. Lot 247. Naxus, bearded Dionysus, rev. ΝΑΧΙΟΝ, old faun seated on the ground, holding a cantharus in right hand, £16. Lot 248. Naxus of a later period, Indian Bacchus, broad diadem, bound with ivy-wreath, rev. ΝΑΞΙΟΝ, faun seated, £16 5s. Lot 250. Syracusan medallion or decadrachm, a beautiful specimen, of the usual type, with ΑΘΛΑ under the prize armour, £44. Lot 251. Syracuse, tetradrachm, of beautiful work, head of Cora, behind, a bee, rev. quadriga to left, star above, £22 10s. Lot 257. Agathocles, Rex Syracusæ, ΚΟΡΑΣ, head of Cora, rev. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ, Victory erecting a

trophy, £13 5s. Lot 260. Panormus, or Carthago Vetus, tetradrachm, s. 6, head of Ceres, four dolphins, &c., rev. horse's head, six Punic letters beneath a palm-tree, £26. Lot 275. Chalcis, Macedoniæ, tetradrachm, s. 7, head of Apollo, rev. ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ, heptachord lyre, £18 10s. Lot 276. Pyrrhus, s. 6, head of the King of the Epirotes, rev. Thetis on sea-horse, £19. Lot 277. Tyra, didrachm, s. 4, head of Ceres, rev. ΤΥΡΑΝΟΝ, bull butting to left, £20. Lot 282. Argos Argolidis, s. 4½, head of Juno, rev. ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ, Diomedes with palladium and sword, £25 10s. Lot 288. Mithradates VI. Eupator, Ponti Rex, tetradrachm, s. 10, extremely fine portrait, rev. stag, monogram, and the date ΓΚΣ (year 223), £26 10s. Lot 291. Magnesia Ioniæ, tetradrachm, s. 9, head of Diana to right, rev. ΜΑΓΝΗΤΟΝ . ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ, nude Apollo to left, &c., £34. Lot 306. Antiochus VI., tetradrachm, radiated head, rev. Dioscuri on horseback, in the field ΤΡΥ (Tryphon) and ΣΤΑ (Staphylus), under the horses, date ΟΡ (year 170, B.C. 152), £22 10s. Lot 315. Ptolemæi incerti, busts of Serapis and Isis, rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, eagle, &c., £30 10s. Lot 321. Verica, *N.*, VI-R1, fern-leaf, rev. CO F., horseman to right, with buckler and spear, £12 12s. Lot 325. Mary, sovereign, MDLIII., Queen enthroned, rev. A . DNO ., &c., shield of arms within rose, £9 2s. 6d. Lot 329. Oliver Cromwell, *N.*, s. 7, oval medalet on the Battle of Dunbar, 1650, bust to left, rev. House of Commons, by Thomas Simon, £23. Lot 345. Philip de Valois, couronne d'or, m.m. cross, £17 17s. Lot 351. Tarentum, *N.*, 4, youthful head of Hercules, rev. Taras in a biga to right, ΚΑΜ and dolphin under the horses, £29. Lot 358. Syracuse, *N.*, 3½, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ, female head with reticulum, stars, &c., rev. Hercules strangling the lion, £41. Lot 364. Pyrrhus Epiri Rex, *N.*, 4½, head of Pallas to right, rev. Nike with trophy, garland, &c., £71. Lot 365. Pyrrhus, *N.*, 3¾, head of Artemis, with quiver, &c., rev. Victory with trophy, &c., £27. Lot 373. Domitia, *N.*, rev. CONCORDIA . AUGUST., peacock, £19 10s. Lot 376. Plotina, *N.*, bust to right, rev. head of Trajan to right, £16. Lot 380. Sabina, *N.*, DIVA, veiled and diademed head to right, rev. CONSECRATIO, Empress on the back of an eagle, £23. Lot 386. Ælius, *N.*, bare head to right, rev. TR . POT, &c., female sacrificing, PIETAS across the field, £16. Lot 389. Crispina, *N.* rev. VENUS . FELIX, the goddess seated to left, &c., £17 10s. Lot 390. Septimius Severus, *N.*, bust to right, rev. FELICITAS SÆCULI, busts of Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta, £20. Lot 392. Macrinus, *N.*, rev. AEQUITAS . AUG., Equity, with cornucopia and scales, £50. Lot 393. Postumus, *N.*,

heads of the Emperor and Hercules, rev. FELICITAS AUG., busts of Victory and Peace, £31. Lot 395. Aurelian, medallion, *N.*, bust to right, rev. ADVENTUS . AUG, equestrian figure of the Emperor, £33.

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NOTICE OF SALES OF COINS, MEDALS, ETC., DURING 1879.—On account of the changes which take place from time to time in the prices realised by coins and medals, ancient and modern, at the principal London sales, and the difficulties experienced by country members of the Numismatic Society who are unable to be present at those sales, the editors of the "Numismatic Chronicle" have determined to give occasionally epitomes of such sales. This task was undertaken some years ago, but it was allowed gradually to cease, and the necessity to renew it now is very apparent to collectors of coins; for of late the prices in all classes of coins and medals have undergone considerable variations. The prices to be noticed are not those realised by ordinary coins, which vary but little, and are known to all collectors after a little experience, but those of the rarer pieces, which fluctuate very much and depend upon the demand there may be for them in the market. It may be noticed that during the past few years the class of collectors has very much changed. Twenty years ago there was in England a number of ardent and serious collectors of Greek coins and of the rarer and finer specimens of Roman coins and medallions, whilst the number of collectors of English and modern coins generally was comparatively small. At the present time the contrary is the case, and the well-known collectors of ancient coins are nearly all dead, and their collections have either been dispersed at public auctions or have found resting-places in home and foreign museums, never again to appear in the market, and but few remain who possess that taste which carries with it a close study of the history and art of the ancients. On the other hand, the collectors of modern coins of all classes are vastly on the increase, and consequently every small variety is eagerly sought after. In one direction, however, modern collectors of late have shown an improved taste, and that is in the direction of what are called artistic medals, the works of the famous artists of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Hitherto this class of medals was almost shunned, but now a sudden rush is made for them on all sides, and pieces which could be purchased but a short time ago for a few shillings, now realise in price as many sovereigns. These changes in taste have brought with them a proportionate change in the market prices of the objects; consequently, whilst the prices of Greek and Roman coins have

considerably fallen, those of the modern series have very much risen. These few remarks will show to our readers the utility of giving them occasional notices of important sales. The first notice will be of the prices realised at sales during 1879, and it is a good period to begin with, as it illustrates most forcibly what has been stated above, for during that year there was not one single important sale of Greek or other ancient coins, whilst in the modern series there were several sales, which will give to any collector a fair idea of the market value of the rarer and choicer pieces. The sales which will be noticed took place at Messrs. Sotheby & Co.'s, Wellington Street, Strand. At a sale of British and foreign war and naval medals, on the 20th and 21st February, 1879, the following prices may be noticed. This sale consisted of Peninsula, Waterloo, Indian, Chinese, Crimean, and other medals, forming in all a very complete series. The ordinary medals of these classes ranged in price from 10s. to £1 10s. each, but where several clasps were attached to one medal, then the price increased in proportion to the number of clasps, *e.g.* a Peninsula medal with eleven clasps of Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, &c., £6 6s.; another with nine clasps, £4 10s.; another, won by Corporal Cheesman, who also won a Waterloo medal, and a "forlorn hope" medal of St. Sebastian, presented by the officers of the 52nd Regiment, the former £25, the latter two £41. (These prices are high; but the circumstance of one man possessing all three is a sufficient reason for such an extra value.) Another of Chrystler's Farm, very rare, £6 6s. The artillery Peninsula medals are much rarer; consequently one with ten clasps of Talavera, Vittoria, St. Sebastian, &c., all won by one individual, was sold for £6 15s., and another, with six similar clasps, for £4. Of the Indian service medals, 1799—1826, that of Kirkee and Poona sold for £2 4s. No exceptional prices were paid for any of the Chinese first and second war, the Afghan war, 1842, Sutlej or Punjab campaigns, or the Crimean war medals. Medals given by the Hon. East India Company ranged from £1 10s. to £2 10s., and military decorations, such as long-service medals, for distinguished conduct in the field, &c., being of the rarer class, exceeded the ordinary prices. Of regimental medals and badges, the Cameronians sold for £1 8s., the Wicklow Militia Regiment, £3 17s. 6d., the East Middlesex Order of Merit, £9 5s., and the corporation and citizens of Limerick to the "Heroes of Colooney," £6 12s. 6d. Of the General Naval Service medals, 1793—1840, one with five bars—Java, Algiers, Obliguardo, &c., £4 4s., and another with three clasps—*Amazon* and Boat Service (2)—£10. The Java medal sold for £4 7s. 6d.,

and that of Lowestoffe for £7 10s., and the *Hebrus* with *l'Etoile*, £4 15s., the East India Company's Deccan medal (officers), £12, and the Jellalabad (flying Victory), £3 3s. The ordinary naval decoration medals of the Chinese and Crimean wars are not rare, and realised a value but little above that of the metal.

At the sale of a miscellaneous lot of English coins belonging to the Rev. H. Hoskins and others on the 22nd to the 25th of February, 1879, the following prices may be noticed :—An angel of Edward VI., very rare and in a fine state of preservation, £45 ; a sovereign of same king, of the sixth year, also very rare, £8 ; a silver-gilt memorial badge of Charles I., with rev. royal arms, by T. Rawlins, £2 ; a shilling of Henry VII., with head in profile and "VII.," £13 ; a proof of the gun-money crown, 1690, in silver, £4 7s. ; a proof three-shilling bank token of George III., 1812, plain edge, £5 5s. ; a sovereign of Charles I., of the Oxford mint, EXURGAT, &c., and XX., m.m. plume, £5 ; a proof crown of William IV., 1831, plain edge, £7 5s. ; a testoon of Philip and Mary, 1554, £3 ; a penny of Edward VI., first coinage of base standard, with bust right, E.D.G., &c., and CIVITAS LONDON, £5 10s.

At the sale of General Moore's collection of early British, Anglo-Saxon, English, &c., coins, on the 21st to the 23rd of April, 1879, the following prices were realised :—A copper coin of Cunobeline, Ev., p. xii., CVNO and Janiform head, rev. CAMV, with sow resting against tree, £40 10s. ; a penny of Baldred, King of Kent, Hawkins, No. 57, struck at Canterbury, £69 ; another of Offa, Hawkins, n.e., No. 566, £7 5s. ; another of Coenwulf of Mercia, rev. + LVL in four dotted ovals within a cross, £7 10s. ; another of Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury, Rud., pl. xiii. No. 4, £29 10s. ; another of Coenwulf II. of Mercia, rev. EALDOVVLF [ΠE] NTA and two figures holding a globe, £81 ; another of Eric of Northumberland, Rud., pl. xi. No. 3, rev. INGELEAR MO in two lines, £14 5s. ; another of Ceolnoth, with full-faced bust and rev. BIARNRED MONETA, cross crosslet, £17 10s. ; another of Alfred, "Num. Chron.," Pl. I. No. 4, rev. FYALD MONETA, pellet in each angle of lozenge, £27 ; Æthelstan, Rud., App. xxx. No. 22, rev. building, &c., £23 10s. ; a shilling of Henry VIII., third coinage, rev. rose crowned and ꝟ . R, &c., £6 6s. ; a half-groat of Mary, Hawkins, No. 431, rev. VERITAS, &c., £10 10s. ; a portcullis crown of Elizabeth, m.m. annulet, £6 17s. 6d. ; a crown of James I., m.m. trefoil, rev. QVÆ DEVS, &c., plume over arms, £10 ; the celebrated Oxford crown of Charles I., by T. Rawlins, 1644, but in poor condition, £48. (This coin in fine condition realised at the sale of the Bank of England coins,

13th July, 1877, £80, and at the Murchison sale, 29th June, 1864, £126.) An Oxford half-crown of Charles I., with mark of value divided by a plume, 1642, £4 7s. 6d.; a Chester half-crown, m.m. three gerbs and CHST under horse, £4 17s. 6d.; a Carlisle three-shilling piece, siege, OBS . CARL., £8 10s.; ditto, shilling, Ruding, pl. xxviii., No. 3, £8 12s. 6d.; an octagonal and a circular shilling of Colchester, with view of castle, £11 and £10 respectively; the other siege pieces of Pontefract, Newark, Cork, &c., half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, varied in prices from £2 2s. to £3 10s. Of the coins of Cromwell, the pattern ninepence, silver, 1658, £6 6s.; the broad, 1656, gold, £8 8s.; half ditto, 1658, £16. The petition crown, by Th. Simon, of Charles II., in fine condition, £86. (This coin had passed through the Dimsdale, Thomas, Cuff, and Wigan collections; at the Cuff sale it was sold for £56 10s., and at the Murchison sale £155.) The Reddite crown of Charles II., £51. (At the Cuff sale a similar coin sold for £74 10s.; another at the Murchison sale for £60; and in the recent Sparkes sale another for £102.) A pattern crown of George III., 1818, with large head, by Pistrucci, £10; a pattern five-guinea piece, 1777, George III., by Yeo, edge plain, £18 10s., and a two-guinea piece of same date and type, £10; a crown proof in gold of William IV., 1831, £22; a pattern crown, silver, of Victoria, 1839, with rev. of five-pound piece, DIRIGE, &c., and badge of the Garter, £6; a pattern five-pound piece of Victoria, 1839, with inscribed edge, £17 15s.; another, without the edge inscribed, £9; a penny (Scotch) of Alexander II., short cross type, Roxburgh mint, very rare, £15; a rider, gold, of James III., Lind., pl. xiii. No. 28, £4 4s.; bonnet piece, gold, 1539, of James V., £6; a lion and half-lion of Mary, 1553, £5 10s. each, and a ryal of same queen, with bust left, 1555, £95; a twenty-pound piece, 1576, of James VI., bust with sword and branch, &c., £20.

At the sale of Baron Heath's collection of cinque-cento and other medals, amongst which were the works of Pisano, Pasti, &c., a few good prices were obtained, viz.:—A medal of Sigis. Pan. Malatesta, with view of castle of Rimini, by Pasti, £26; another of Isotta da Rimini, with rev. elephant, by Pisano, £23. (This medal was in an exceptionally good condition.) Another of Don Inigo de Davalos, rev. globe bursting and discharging stars, also by Pisano, £47; another of Hieronymus Pisaurus of Padua, MDXV, £19; another of Andrea Gritti, with rev. triumphal scene, OPT. DE PATRIA, &c., £9; another of Louis XII. of France and Anne of Brittany, 1499, marriage medal, £23. It may be remarked that the value of Italian medals specially depends upon their surface and casting,

and great care must be used in detecting whether the casting is of a date more recent than the original issue of the medal. A perfect knowledge of this nature can only be obtained after much experience.

From the sale of Mr. G. Wakeford's collection of English and other coins a few prices may be noted; this being a collection possessing no special rarities, but at the same time formed with great care and with a great amount of critical knowledge. The pennies of William I. and II., all of considerable rarity, varied in prices from £1 1s. to £2 10s.; of the coins of Henry I., a penny, full face, with sceptre, London mint, sold for £4; another, head in profile, Winchester mint, for £4; a penny of Stephen, bust right, rev. arms of Edward the Confessor in angles, Derby mint, £7 17s. 6d.; another, bearded head right, London mint, £3 7s.; a penny of Stephen and Matilda, Hawkins, No. 281, £3 8s.; a groat of Henry VII., head right, HENRIC . SEPTIM., &c., £2 12s. (*v.* a similar coin with "VII." in the Hoskins' sale given above); a penny of Mary, 1553, £11 11s.; a half-groat and penny of Philip and Mary, first coinage, £5 and £5 10s. respectively; a crown of Elizabeth, 1602, m.m. 2, £5 2s. 6d.; the crowns of James I. varied in prices from £2 15s. to £3 18s., all well preserved; of the coins of Charles I., the Briot crown and half-crown sold for £4 18s. and £4; the Bristol half-crown, 1643, £4 6s., and a half-groat, same mint, £3 18s.; the Oxford twenty-shilling piece, 1644, OX., £12 10s.; two others without name of mint, of 1642-3, £10 17s. 6d. and £10 10s.; the ten-shilling piece of 1642, £4 8s.; the twenty-shilling piece of the Shrewsbury mint, 1642, £11 10s.; and the ten-shilling pieces, 1642, same mint, £3 3s., £4 6s. and £5 12s. 6d. (the first had two plumes behind king, the second one, and the third none); the Oxford crown by T. Rawlins, not fine, £20 (see price of this coin in General Moore's sale); a half-crown by Briot, 1628, £5; two patterns for Oxford shillings, £4 12s. and £5 5s. Of the Commonwealth coins, a crown, 1651, sold for £3 5s.; another, 1653, £2 7s.; another, 1656, £3; a shilling struck by Lord Baltimore for Maryland, 1652, £4 6s.; a pattern for half-crown by Blondeau, edge inscribed TRUTH & PEACE, 1651, &c., £4 14s.; a pattern for shilling by same artist, £2 19s.; a pattern farthing, in pewter, rev. shield with Irish harp, FOR NECESSARY CHANGE, £2 8s.; a half-crown of Charles II., first coinage, rev. CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO, &c., £7; a shilling of same issue, £1 15s.; another of third issue, £1 13s.

H. G.

# VII.

## ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE COINS OF EPHESUS.

### Introduction.

In the following pages I propose to attempt for the most famous and splendid of the ancient cities of Asia, Ephesus, that which some years ago I did for the greatest Greek city of the west, Syracuse; viz., to arrange in chronological sequence the series of its coinage from the earliest times down to the epoch of the consolidation of the Roman Empire by Augustus.

The interest which the Ephesian coins have for us is historical and mythological. From an artistic standpoint they are, unlike those of Syracuse or of Elis, and chiefly on account of the general uniformity of type which prevails from first to last, of comparatively slight value.

For the archæologist, on the other hand, they may be made of very great use. Ere long it may be even possible to fix the dates of many of them within narrower limits than can now be attempted, and thus to reconstruct as it were the magisterial Fasti of Ephesus from the time when the name of the Eponymus first makes its appearance on the coinage down to the Imperial Period.

One of the most pregnant inquiries in the whole domain of ancient numismatics is that which concerns itself with the various names of magistrates which are so frequent on

the coins both in autonomous and Imperial times. It is one, moreover, which has been much neglected; so much so indeed that the compilers of sale catalogues often consider it quite needless to give the names which occur on coins to be sold, contenting themselves with such vague descriptions as "magistrate's name in field," "all various magistrates," &c. &c.

If I am able to bring home to the minds of some of these gentlemen the very great historical and archæological interest which attaches itself to a complete series of the magistrates' names of any one city, my labours will not have been fruitless.

In the case of Ephesus it will be my endeavour to show who the magistrate was who places his name upon the money of the State, and what was the length of his term of office, and thus from the number of extant names on the money of each particular class to calculate the relative duration of the respective issues, and so to assign each to a particular historical period of greater or lesser length.

I must caution my readers, however, against supposing that I have been led to attribute any single class of coins to any given period simply *because* the number of magistrates' names happened to tally with the length of that period. I arranged the small collection in the British Museum *by style* in what seemed to me chronological order, under successive historical periods, before proceeding to compile the mass of magistrates' names comprised in the volumes of Mionnet and in other catalogues, and I may add that it was an agreeable surprise to me to find that in every single instance the total number of names which I was able to collect from all sources corresponded very closely with the number of years in the period to which I had already on other grounds assigned the coins.

My best thanks are due to M. Six and to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer; to the former for valuable lists of names which might otherwise have escaped my notice, and to the latter for descriptions of all the coins of Ephesus, many of them unpublished, in his fine collection. Prof. Dr. H. Brunn, of Munich; M. Chabouillet, of Paris; Dr. J. Friedlænder, of Berlin, and Dr. F. Kenner, of Vienna, have also kindly allowed me to have casts of coins from the collections under their charge.

In the presence of such works as those of Guhl, Falkener, Curtius, and Wood, it would be superfluous to repeat all the details of a history which extends over more than a thousand years.

Nevertheless as one, though by no means the main object of the series of monographs of which this is the third,[1] is to popularise the science of numismatics, I have thought it well to unite to the strictly numismatic history enough of the general political and religious history of Ephesus to interest those who have not made a special study of Greek coins.[2]

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[1] Syracuse, 1874, by B. V. Head, and Elis, 1879, by Percy Gardner, being the two first.

[2] I have not thought it necessary to encumber my pages with more references than are absolutely unavoidable. Those who wish to refer to the original sources of our knowledge of Ephesian affairs should consult Guhl, "Ephesiaca," Berlin, 1843; Falkener, "Ephesus and the Temple of Diana," London, 1862; Curtius, E., "Ephesus," Berlin, 1874; Wood, "Discoveries at Ephesus," London, 1877; and for the general history of later times Droysen's "Geschichte des Hellenismus," Gotha, 1877, and Waddington's "Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques," part i., Paris, 1872, where all the requisite references will be found. In the historical portions of this paper I have made frequent use of the works of Guhl, Droysen, and especially Curtius, whose highly suggestive monograph is not easily accessible to English readers.

"In Ionia," says Herodotus (ii. 106), "there are two representations of Sesostris, sculptured on rocks, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, and the other on that from Sardes to Smyrna; and in each case a man is engraved four cubits and a span high, holding a spear in the right hand and a bow in the left, the rest of his costume being similarly partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopic; and from the one shoulder to the other run sacred Egyptian characters engraved, of the following purport:—*I won this land with my own shoulders.* But who he is and whence he came is not stated there."

These remarkable figures, which Herodotus believed to represent the Egyptian king Sesostris, are still to be seen *in situ,* and have been lately identified by Mr. Sayce and other scholars as memorials, not of Sesostris, but of the great enemy of Sesostris, a king of the Kheta or Hittites.

One of them is engraved in Texier's "Asie Mineure" (ii. Pl. 132), and the inscription, which still remains on it, is written in Hittite, not in Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Other Hittite monuments have also been discovered at Ibreez in Lycaonia, and in Galatia, near the river Halys, as well as at Jerablus, the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates, a capital of the Hittite Empire. It may, therefore, be considered as all but proved that at some remote period, before 1200 B.C., the Hittites were supreme from the Euphrates on the one side throughout Asia

Minor, as far as the shores of the Ægean on the other. The story of the war between Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks (circ. 1400 B.C.), and the Hittites has been immortalised by the contemporary Egyptian poet Pentaur; and among the allies of the Hittites mentioned in this Egyptian text the names (as read by Egyptologists) of the people of Ilion, Pedasos, Dardanus, Mysia, and Lycia are conspicuous. The Hittite Empire was the earliest of the three great Oriental powers (Hittites, Lydians, and Persians) which succeeded each other in the interior of Asia Minor, and from contact and intercourse with them the mixed populations of the great river valleys and of the coast received the germs of their early art, religion, and letters.

The Hittite capital in hither Asia Minor was doubtless Sardes, then, as later, rich in gold; and to the governor or satrap of Sardes the inhabitants of the valleys of the Caïcus, the Hermus, the Caÿster, and the Mæander were then, as later, tributary.

The distinction between the great central table-land of Asia Minor and the low-lying valleys of the four great rivers which empty themselves into the Ægean Sea must be borne in mind if we would clearly comprehend the conflicting tendencies of Oriental and Western thought and civilisation in this border-land between the East and the West. "A line drawn from Constantinople straight through Asia Minor to the Lycian Sea," says Curtius (Hist. Gr., Eng. Tr. vol. i. p. 5), "roughly indicates the degree of longitude at which the masses of table-land suddenly break off, where the country is everywhere broken up into natural divisions, and in wide fertile river-courses opens towards the sea, which runs to meet them in numerous bays. Here is, as it were, the beginning of a

new world—of another country which resembles a border of a different material woven on to a garment." This border-land, which, though attached to Asia, belongs by nature to European Greece, was from very early times the home of a mixed population, of which one element was the remnant of the Old Ionic stock, the main body of which had passed across the sea in still earlier ages into European Greece. Side by side with these people of Ionic race were Carians and Leleges, and here and there on projecting headland or in sheltered bay was an outlying station of Phœnician traders, from whom the nations received, together with a different system of weights from that which was used in the interior by the Hittites and their Lydian and Phrygian successors, different religious ideas and a different and more simple mode of writing, which appears to have been almost universally adopted except in Lycia, Caria, and other districts, where many of the older characters remained in use probably because the Phœnician alphabet furnished no equivalents.

One of these Phœnician stations was (as Curtius believes) in the bay at the mouth of the river Caÿster, and here in the rich alluvial plain they may have introduced the cultus of their protecting goddess of the sea and of trade, Astarte. But this point is doubtful. Thus much, however, is certain, that under a variety of names a Nature goddess was worshipped throughout the whole of hither Asia, and it is not at all improbable that this widely extended cult may have been due rather to Hittite than to Phœnician influence.

In the case of the Artemis of Ephesus, the Artemis of Perga, the Artemis Leucophryne of Magnesia, the Hera of Samos, and other primitive Asiatic deities, the types as

we know them from the coins are so remarkable that no one can fail to note their thoroughly Oriental character.

The Ephesian goddess is represented as a female figure, the body a mere trunk, with the feet placed close together. The resemblance to an Egyptian mummy is almost as striking as that of the sculptured Hittite king to Sesostris. On the chest of the goddess are numerous breasts, to show that she was regarded as the mother of all living creatures, the embodiment of the life-giving principle; below are various symbols, such as bees, flowers, fruit, &c., and heads of bulls and lions. From each of her outstretched arms hangs a long fillet with tassels at the extremities. On either side stands a stag, raising its head to the hands of the goddess for food. With these and many other symbols, among which the crescent moon may be mentioned, the priests who conducted her sacred rites sought to express the idea that their goddess was identical with Nature herself presiding over all that grows and lives upon the earth, in the air, and in the waters.

By what people, or precisely at what time, the first sanctuary of this goddess was erected on the Caÿster we are unable to affirm. A hollow tree, for aught we know, may have contained the first rude wooden image of the goddess which men said had fallen from the skies. At a later stage, but still in very remote ages, an organized hierarchy of priests and priestesses was established in this spot. In their service were bands of women as well as of men, who dwelt around the sanctuary. The inviolability of the sacred territory for some distance around would naturally attract settlers, and thus a nucleus of trade was gradually formed under the protection of a sacerdotal establishment which, as time went on, attained a wider and wider reputation and predominance.

The constitution of this hierarchy was in all probability the same in this early period as in later times. At the head of the college of priests was the high priest, Ἐσσήν (the King Bee), called also by the Persian title Megabyzus ("God-given"). The priestesses bore the name of Melissæ, or Bees. This insect was, as we shall see, one of the most distinctive symbols of the Ephesian goddess, and may have represented the ideas of virginity, of organization, and of the pure nourishment of honey.

This vast sacerdotal beehive, and the village which grew up under its protection, maintained the most friendly relations with the surrounding peoples, until in the eleventh century B.C. an event occurred which powerfully influenced the whole future course of history in these regions. This was the great reflux of the Greeks from Europe back into Asia, commonly called the Ionic Migration.

The new colonists arrived in numerous bands, and proceeded to settle on all the most favoured spots on the western coast of Asia Minor, everywhere driving out the Asiatic inhabitants and uniting themselves with the old Ionian stock, which had never thoroughly amalgamated with the non-Greek population.

These new Ionian immigrants had attained in European Greece to a degree of civilisation far exceeding that of the old stock which had remained behind. With their arrival begins a new period in the history of Asia Minor, the period of the rule of the noble families, such as the Neleïdæ at Miletus and the Codridæ at Ephesus, the latter led by Androclus, one of the younger sons of Codrus, the last King of Athens, circ. B.C. 1044. They did not, however, effect a settlement at the mouth of the Caÿster without a strenuous opposition on the part of the Carians and Leleges; and their contests with the armed virgins

who fought in defence of the temple of the goddess are among the most famous of the early Greek legends, always supposing that the combats of the Greeks and the Amazons had any historical basis whatever.

In order to understand the relative positions of the new Ionian settlers and the dwellers around the temple, it will be necessary to give in this place a slight sketch of the topography of Ephesus as it has been lately elucidated by the investigations of Mr. Wood during a prolonged stay of eleven years on this spot.

From its sources among the vine-clad slopes of Mount Tmolus, the river Caÿster winds through broad and fertile plains for a distance of nearly a hundred miles, until it enters a narrow maritime plain shut off from the great central valley above by the projecting spurs of Pactyas and Gallesius.

In this plain, and a little to the south of the Caÿster, rises an isolated fortified hill called Mount Solmissus, between the little streams once called Cenchrius and Selinus, tributaries of the Caÿster.

In a grove between these little rivers, and protected by a fort on the hill Solmissus, stood the ancient sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess, and here, at the modern Turkish village of Ayasalouk, Mr. Wood discovered the remains of three successive temples of Artemis. Here on the level ground were clustered in the pre-Ionic age the dwellings of the mixed population which owed allegiance and paid their rents to the hierarchy of their tutelary goddess. Leaving the temple behind us, and proceeding westwards for the distance of about a mile, we approach the ruins of the Greek city of Ephesus itself. Climbing a hill of moderate elevation, which rises in the middle of the plain, and which Mr. Wood has identified as Mount Coressus, and looking towards the setting sun, we see at our feet

the ruins of the Great Theatre, the scene of the riot described in Acts xix. Beyond this was the oblong city port, connected by a long narrow canal with the Caÿster, which it joins about two miles below the city. At the junction of the canal and the river was a second and larger port, called Panormus, connected with the sea, still more than two miles farther on, by the stream of the Caÿster itself. Thus the city of Ephesus was at least four miles from the sea, and the Artemision more than five miles inland.

Skirting the south side of the city, and at right angles to Mount Coressus, was the lofty and serrated ridge of Mount Prion (the Saw, cf. the Spanish *sierra*), along the crest of which the ruins of the city wall may still be seen. "The summit of Mount Prion" (says Mr. Wood, p. 8) "commands a very beautiful and extensive view. The river Caÿster, winding like a white ribbon through the plain, forms in its course numerous small peninsulæ. The Selinusian lakes, the village and castle on the hill (Mount Solmissus) at Ayasalouk, the bay of Scala Nova (the ancient Neapolis), the mountainous island of Samos, and the still more mountainous coast beyond, the snow-capped Tmolus to the north, and the ruined city mapped out at the feet of the spectator: these, with countless other objects of interest, seen through the lustrous atmosphere of Asia Minor, make up a panorama of exquisite beauty. Although my sojourn there was extended over the greater part of eleven years, I never became weary of the scenery by which I was surrounded, for the mountains on which my eyes daily rested changed from hour to hour as the sun travelled on in its course, and the desolation of the place was fully compensated by its constant and never-ceasing loveliness."

When Androclus and his Athenians landed on the Ephesian territory it was on Mounts Prion and Coressus that they founded their new city, which thus faced the sea and turned its back, as it were, upon the older settlement, about a mile farther inland, where stood the temple of the strange Asiatic divinity with its college of emasculate priests and warlike women, an object of mingled aversion and awe to the manly yet credulous Ionians.

In the course of the next three centuries the growing repute of the sanctuary of the goddess, while it procured for the priesthood a steadily preponderating increase of wealth and influence, would seem to have reconciled the Greeks in a great measure to the worship of the outlandish divinity.

They recognised in some of her attributes much that was characteristic of their own Artemis. By this name, therefore, they called her, and as the Artemis of Ephesus she became known along all the coasts where the Greeks had effected settlement. The monarchy founded by Androclus changed in course of time to an aristocracy, and this in its turn yielded to a tyranny.

Meanwhile peaceful relations continued on the whole to be maintained between the Ionians of the coast and the dynasty called the Heraclidæ, who ruled in Lydia after the empire of the Hittites had fallen into decay. It is probable that the Heraclidæ were at first mere vassals of the Hittite monarchy, and that as the latter yielded little by little to the growing power of Assyria, so the kings of Lydia obtained a larger and still larger share of independence. After reigning about five hundred years, this dynasty became extinct on the murder of King Candaules by his wife, in concert with Gyges, one of his bodyguard, circ. B.C. 700.

## Period I. B.C. 700—480.

Gyges, by descent a Carian, became the founder of the dynasty of the Mermnadæ, under whose rule Lydia entered upon a new and independent course of national life. The ties which had bound her to the East were finally severed, and henceforth the direction of her policy is towards the West. The endeavour of the new rulers of the country was to obtain possession of towns on the coast, and thus to create a naval power. The city of Abydos, on the Hellespont, was founded under the auspices of Gyges, and his next step was to secure, if possible, the dominion of the entire Ionian coast. In this project he met with considerable success, but did not live to see the realisation of his dreams. His successor, Ardys, B.C. 660—637, prosecuted the war against the Ionians with uninterrupted ardour, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in uniting the whole coast-line under the dominion of Sardes, had not the invasion of the Cimmerian hordes called off his forces to protect his own territory from the incursions of the barbarians.

The Cimmerians encamped in the valley of the Caÿster, and set fire to the temple of the Ephesian Artemis. The goddess, however, herself intervened, and averted the plunder of her treasures.

Sadyattes, the son of Ardys (B.C. 637—625), after the Cimmerian hordes had been at length finally expelled from Asia Minor, found himself at liberty again to turn

his attention to the West. He laid siege to Miletus, and year after year wasted her fertile lands, but he never succeeded in capturing the city. His son, Alyattes (B.C. 625—568), appears, at any rate in the case of Ephesus, to have sought to gain his ends by more gentle means, for he gave his daughter in marriage to a wealthy citizen of Ephesus named Melas, who probably held the supreme power in his native city. The offspring of this union was Pindarus, who was tyrant of Ephesus when his uncle Crœsus succeeded to the throne of Lydia B.C. 568.

Crœsus, relying, perhaps, upon the family ties which united him to the young ruler of Ephesus, no less than upon his own (now proverbial) wealth and good fortune, sent an embassy to his nephew to demand his submission; but Pindarus refused to yield, and Crœsus laid siege to Ephesus.

One of the towers of the city wall at last gave way, and Crœsus was about to enter the town as a conqueror, when it was discovered that Pindarus had had recourse to a strange expedient. He had attached the walls of the town by a long rope, (one mile in length,) to the sanctuary of the all-powerful goddess in the grove at the back of the city.

Crœsus, who as a Lydian reverenced the great Asiatic goddess even more than did the Ionian citizens of Ephesus, was thus disarmed. Ephesus had *ipso facto* placed herself under the protection of the deity, and by this artifice (if artifice it were) obtained favourable terms from the king. Pindarus, however, was expelled. Under the rule of Crœsus the influence of the goddess and of her priesthood was largely extended. The first great temple then in course of construction began to assume that gorgeous character which gained for its successor the title of one of

the wonders of the world. Crœsus himself dedicated most of the columns and some golden bulls. Nevertheless, the Athenian element in the population of Ephesus, settled on Mount Prion, looked with eyes anything but friendly upon the growing power and wealth of the Asiatic suburb under the shadow of the temple. The rising tide of Orientalism threatened to submerge the isolated Hellenic colony. Then it was that they turned for aid to their mother city (circ. B.C. 555), and Athens sent them Aristarchus, who stayed with them five years, and inspired new life and vigour into the constitution of the State.

The oft-told tale of the fall of Crœsus and of the incorporation of the Lydian monarchy and of the Greek cities of Asia into the great Persian Empire I need not here recapitulate. Suffice it to say that throughout the whole of this momentous period the prestige of the famous temple never dwindled, and that to the protection of the goddess the Ephesians were indebted for the exceptional mildness with which they were treated by the conquerors. At a time when all Ionia was ravaged and laid waste by the Persians, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was of all the Ionian temples the only one which was spared, and to Ephesus Xerxes sent his children under the care of Queen Artemisia of Caria, after his great defeat at Salamis B.C. 480.

Ephesus was, indeed, even a gainer by the calamities which befell her sister cities, for she now became after the fall of Miletus the one great mart of Asia through which the fabrics and products of the East found their way to Europe. And thus it was not long before the city, as well as the temple, began to perceive the advantages which accrued from the maintenance of a strict neutrality.

The temple continued, however, to be the centre of

attraction, and the importance of the fortified Greek city on Mount Prion continued to dwindle as the population and commerce of the town on the plain around the temple increased.

Having now brought the history of Ephesus from its earliest days down to the Persian wars, it is time to consider what are the coins which belong to the period which closes with the great defeats of Xerxes at Salamis and Platææ in Europe, and at Mycale, a few miles south of Ephesus, in Asia. These are not as numerous as we might have expected from the importance of Ephesus in early times. Of the electrum series, which may be assigned to the time before Crœsus, are the following specimens:—

PERIOD I.—BEFORE B.C. 480.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Trite.* El. 2. Wt. 71 grs. [Brit. Mus.] **Pl. I. 1.** | Bee in linear square. | Oblong incuse, divided into two squares traversed by lines. |
| 2. *Trite.* El. 2. Wt. 70 grs. [Vienna.] | Similar. | Similar. |
| 3. *Trite.* El. 2. Wt. 67·8 grs. [Brit. Mus.] **Pl. I. 2.** | Similar, but of bolder work. | Similar. |

These three coins are of very pale electrum, and probably contain a very small proportion of gold.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. *Hecte.* El. 1. Wt. 36 grs. [Brit. Mus.] **Pl. I. 3.** | Forepart of stag, left, head turned back. In field three pellets. | Incuse square traversed by many lines running in various directions. |
| 5. *Hemihecton.* El. 1. Wt. 18·4 grs. [Paris.] **Pl. I. 4.** | Forepart of stag right, head turned back. | Incuse square. |

How soon Ephesus began to strike electrum must remain a matter for conjecture. It may be presumed,

however, that when the city fell into the hands of Crœsus the Lydian gold money introduced by him superseded the ancient electrum, and that subsequently silver money only was coined at Ephesus while under the Lydian and Persian rule. The earliest silver coins of Ephesus are the following. These, on account of their style, must be all attributed to the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

SILVER.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. *Drachm.* Æ. 2. Wt. 54 grs. [Musée Luynes.] **Pl. I. 5.** | Bee crawling to right. | Incuse square. |
| 7. *Drachm.* Æ. 2. Wt. 53 grs. [Rev. Num. 1861, Pl. xviii. 7. Found at Myt-Rahineh.] | Bee crawling to right. | Incuse square divided diagonally into four parts. |
| 8. *Drachm.* Æ. 2. Wt. 50·3 grs. [Brit. Mus.] **Pl. I. 6.** | Bee crawling to left. | Rough incuse square quartered. |
| 9. *Hemidrachm.* Æ. 1. Wt. 22·5 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] **Pl. I. 7.** | Bee flying. | Incuse square quartered. |
| 10. *Drachm.* Æ. 2. Wt. 51 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] **Pl. I. 8.** | Bee. | Rough incuse. |
| 11. *Drachm.* Æ. 2. Wt. 52 grs. [Prokesch, Ined. 1854, p. 52.] **Pl. I. 9.** | Bee. | Irregular incuse. |

The standard on which the above-described silver coins are struck is the Phœnician or Græco-Asiatic, of which the tetradrachm weighs about 224 grs., the didrachm 112 grs., and the drachm 56 grs. The electrum money of the same standard (Nos. 1—5) follows a different divisional system, thus:—

| | |
|---|---|
| El. Stater . . . . | 224 grs. |
| El. Trite . . . . | 74 grs. |
| El. Hecte . . . . | 37 grs. |
| El. Hemihecton . . | 18 grs. |

Somewhat later than the foregoing, but still belonging to the early part of the fifth century, is the following coin, which in fabric resembles those which precede it, although in type it approaches to the next coinage.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. *Drachm.* Æ. 2. Wt. 49·4 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 10. | Bee; in field to left of its head a volute or scroll. | Incuse square quartered. |

CLASS ($\beta$), circ. B.C. 450—415.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. *Tetradrachm.* Æ. 6½. Wt. 205 grs. [Brit. Mus.] **Pl. I. 14.** | ΕΦ—ΕΣΙ<br>Ν—Ο Bee; the whole in dotted circle. | Incuse square, quartered. |
| 7. *Drachm.* Æ. 3½. Wt. 50 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] [Brit. Mus. 49 grs. and 47·7 grs. Mion. n. 152, 51 grs. and 48 grs.] **Pl. I. 13.** | Similar. | Similar. |

The standard of the above coins is the same as that of the coins of Period I. In shape they are rather elongated or oval than round, and they are flatter than the archaic coins of Period I. In style also they are intermediate between the more archaic pieces and those which follow. The bees' wings, as will be seen by reference to the Plate I. 14, stand out boldly from the body of the insect, especially on the coins of Class $\beta$. The incuse square on the reverse is still somewhat irregularly divided by narrow bands.

## Period III. B.C. 415—394.

The exact year when Ephesus broke away from the Athenian alliance we cannot ascertain. It is probable that Tissaphernes, the new satrap of Ionia, had succeeded, even before the Athenian defeat in Sicily, in reuniting Ephesus with Persia, not by open force, but by means of the powerful Asiatic party within the territory of Ephesus itself.

In B.C. 410 Thrasylus, the Athenian admiral, made an attempt to recover the city, which had by this time become the headquarters of the Persian power on the Ionian coast; but as soon as Tissaphernes got wind of the intentions of Thrasylus, he sent a detachment of cavalry to Ephesus, and by fanning the flames of religious enthusiasm and calling upon all the people to rally to the assistance of their goddess, he signally defeated Thrasylus, and thus Ephesus remained in the hands of the Persians.

Shortly after this, circ. B.C. 407, the Spartan Lysander took up his quarters at Ephesus, as being the nearest point to Sardes, where the young prince Cyrus was shortly expected to arrive. "When Lysander came to Ephesus," says Plutarch (Lysan. III.), "he found that city well-inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a bad condition as to its internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Persians, because it was near Lydia and the king's lieutenants often visited it. Lysander therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his store-ships to be brought into their har-

bour, and built a dock for his galleys. By these means he filled their ports with merchandise, their market with business, and their houses and shops with money, so that from time and from his services Ephesus began to conceive hopes of that greatness and splendour in which she now flourishes."

In B.C. 406 Lysander was recalled to Sparta, and was superseded by the noble-minded Callicratidas, who, unfortunately for Greece, perished in the same year at the Battle of Arginusæ. On his death the Ionians held a meeting at Ephesus, at which it was decided to send an embassy to Sparta to ask that Lysander might be again sent out.

The Spartans consented, and accordingly in B.C. 405 Lysander was again welcomed by the Ephesians, and in the year following was honoured by them, after his victory over the Athenians at Aegospotami, with a statue in the Temple of Artemis.

Under Agesilaus, B.C. 396—394, the Greek party once more gained the upper hand at Ephesus, where the Spartan king, as Lysander had done before him, took up his quarters, and during his stay the coast-towns were exempt from all tribute to Persia.

The following are the coins which in my opinion belong to the period of about twenty-one years which elapsed between the time when Ephesus revolted from Athens, and the year B.C. 394, when, after the recall of Agesilaus to Europe, Conon expelled the Spartans, and when for the first time Ephesus obtained full and complete autonomy[3]—

[3] The gold coins which, if they were genuine, would have to be attributed to this period are the following:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stater, circ. 130 grs. | *Obv.*—(Stater, ΕΦΕΣΙΟΝ; the others, Ε—Φ.) Bee with curved wings. | |
| Drachm ,, 65 grs. | | |
| Diobol ,, 22 grs. | *Rev.*—Incuse square quartered. | |

Circ. B.C. 415—394.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Tetradrachm.* Æ. 6. Wt. not stated [Mion. S. vi. n. 183.] | E—Φ. Bee. | Incuse square, quartered by two broad bands, on one of which ΜΕΝΤΩΡ. |
| 2. *Didrachm.* Æ. 4. Wt. 117 grs. [Brit. Mus. 2 specimens.] Pl. I. 15. | E—Φ. Bee with curved wings; border of dots. | Similar. No magistrate's name. |
| 3. *Didrachm.* Æ. 4. Wt. 116·2 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 17. | E—Φ. Bee with curved wings; beneath, ΤΙΜΑΡΧ; border of dots. | Incuse square, quartered by narrow lines. |
| 4. *Drachm.* Æ. 2½. Wt. 47·8 grs. [Brit. Mus.] | E—Φ. Bee with straight wings, of the form prevalent after B.C. 387. | Incuse square, quartered by narrow bands. |
| 5. *Drachm.* Æ. 2½. Wt. 42·7 grs. [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 18. Mion. iii. n. 157, Cousinéry, Munich, Pl. I. 19.] | E—Φ. Bee with curved wings. | Incuse square, quartered by two broad bands, on one of which ΤΙΜΕΣΙΑΝΑΞ. |

Examples of these are in existence, struck from different dies. They were accepted as true by Borrell, but are now generally believed to be false. After a careful consideration of the question, I have convinced myself that they are one and all false. Mr. Whittall of Smyrna, however, informs me that forty years ago he possessed a specimen which was undoubtedly genuine. He believes all the specimens now known to be copies of this original, which has now disappeared.

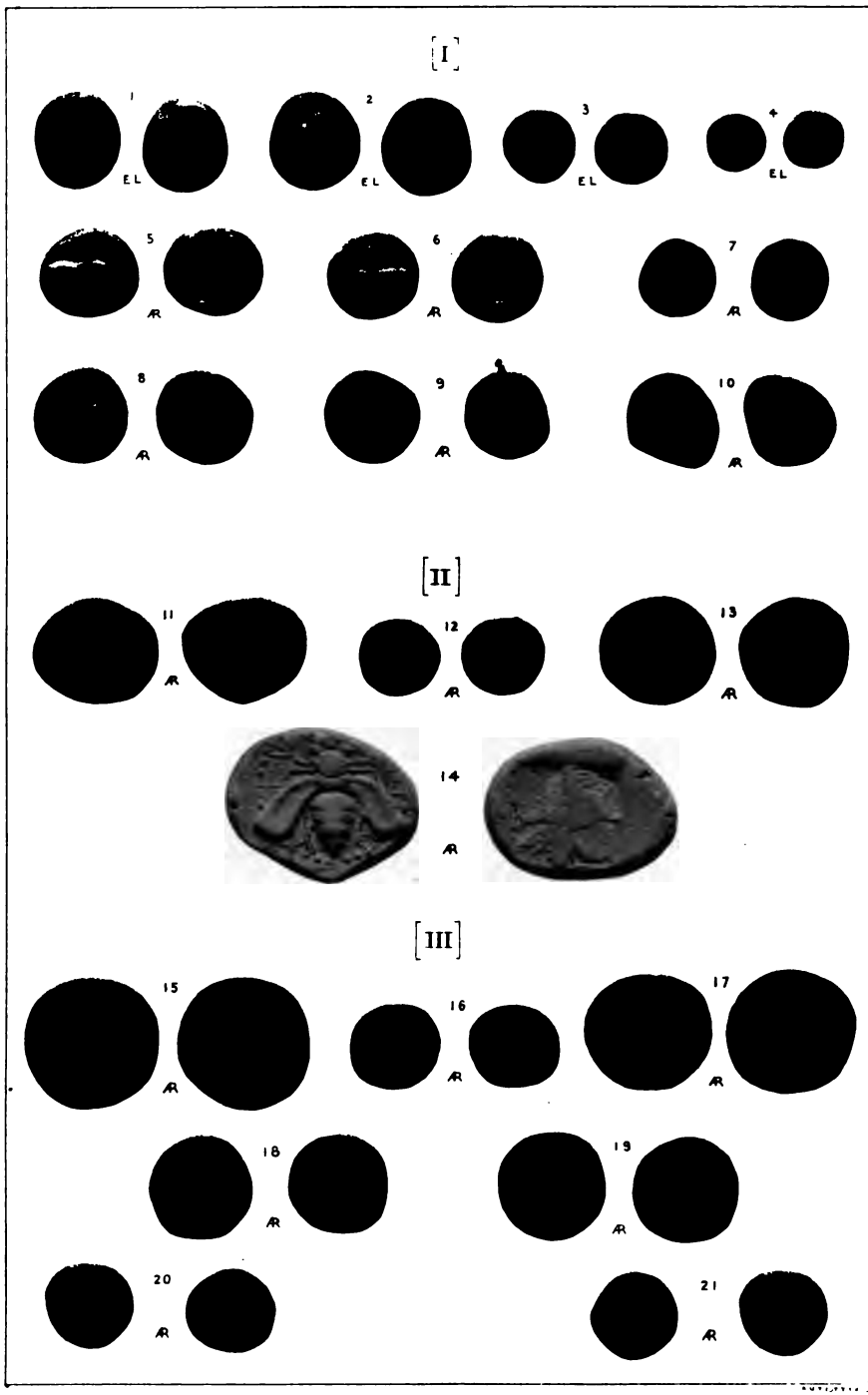
Among other false coins of Ephesus are the following:—

Æ. 1. Wt. 6·9 grs. Female head. *Rev.*—E—Φ. Incuse square divided diagonally.
Æ. 1. Wt. 2 grs. Male head laur. *Rev.*—Similar.
Æ. ¾. Wt. 1 gr. Similar. *Rev.*—Similar.

The last two were in the Prokesch-Osten Collection, and Dr. Friedländer informs me are from the same die. A specimen of the first was sold in the Merlin sale, 1864, No. 111. I cannot positively say that this one is false.

Circ. B.C. 415—394 (*continued*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Drachms, Hemidrachms, etc.* | | |
| 6. Æ. 2. [Mion. iii. n. 158, Cousinéry, Munich.] **Pl. I. 20.** | Similar. | Similar. ΔΙΟΔΩΡΙΔ[ΗΣ]. |
| 7. Æ. 2. Wt. 26 grs. [Mion. S. vi. n. 181.] | Similar. | Similar. ΚΟΡΥΛΑΣ. |
| 8. Æ. 3. [Mion. S. vi. n. 182.] | Similar. | Similar. ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥ[Σ]. |
| 9. Æ. 1½. Wt. 27 grs. [Coll. Waddington; Brandis, p. 456.] | Similar. | Similar. ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥ[Σ]. |
| 10. Æ. 1½. [Northwick, 1085, where the name is printed ΜΕΝΕΣΟΣ.] | Similar. | Similar. ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕ[ΥΣ]. |
| 11. Æ. 1½. Wt. 22·2 grs. [Brit. Mus.] | Similar. | Similar. ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ. |
| 12. Æ. 2. [Acad. des Sciences, Amsterdam; re-struck.] **Pl. I. 21.** | Similar. | Similar. ΣΑΤΤΙΩΝ. |
| 13. Æ. 3. Wt. 28·5 grs. [Brit. Mus. 2 specimens.] **Pl. I. 16.** | Similar. | Incuse square, quartered by narrow lines. |
| 14. Æ. ½. Wt. 2·4 grs. [Brit. Mus.] | Ε—Φ. Bee. | ΕΦ. Incuse square, within which animal's (?) head. |




EPHESUS PLATE I – PERIODS I–III.

## Period IV. B.C. 394—387.

Although the Persian tax-gatherer was no longer seen during the time of Agesilaus within fifty miles of the coast, yet the tyranny and the exactions of the Spartan oligarchies which had been set up by Lysander soon disgusted the Asiatic cities with the Lacedæmonian rule.

When, therefore, the Athenian Conon, in conjunction with the satrap Pharnabazus, gained his signal victory over the Lacedæmonian fleet off Cnidus in B.C. 394, he was everywhere welcomed as a deliverer as he sailed from town to town expelling the Spartan harmosts and proclaiming liberty and autonomy. The Rhodians had been the first, in B.C. 395, to expel the Lacedæmonian admiral from their port, and from Rhodes it was that Conon and Pharnabazus sailed on the day of the Battle of Cnidus.

Among the other towns which after this battle shook off the Spartan yoke, Ephesus and Samos are mentioned in history: we have accordingly no difficulty in assigning to this period the federal coinage issued by the cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Samos, and Ephesus, each with its own type on the reverse of the coin, while on the obverse is the infant Herakles strangling two serpents, and the inscription ΣΥΝ, which may stand for ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ. The identification of this monetary confederacy, known be it remarked only from the coins, has been so ably worked out by M. Waddington (Mélanges Num. pt. ii., pp. 7—19) that we need not dwell upon it here. There

is, however, one circumstance which calls for special notice, and this is the standard of the new federal coinage. The weight of these pieces is about 177 grs., which is certainly too light for an Aeginetic stater, and very heavy for one of the Persic weight.

The only other alternative is that it is a denomination of the new Rhodian standard, of which the tetradrachm weighed about 236 grs., the didrachm 118, and the drachm 59 grs. The alliance coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Samos, and Ephesus would seem to be tridrachms of this standard now introduced from Rhodes into Ephesus, where it superseded the considerably lighter Græco-Asiatic standard hitherto in use there.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Tridrachm.* Æ. 5. Wt. 176·6 grs. [Brit. Mus. and Hunter.] Pl. II. 1. | ΣΥΝ. Infant Herakles strangling two serpents. | Ε—Φ. Bee with curved wings; beneath, ΠΕ; border of dots. |

The custom of signing the coins was probably introduced while Lysander was in power at Ephesus, and shortly before the introduction of the Rhodian standard: those coins of Period III. which are without the name of a magistrate are therefore earlier than the signed money. About the same time an improvement was effected in the execution of the dies, the *flan* becomes thicker, and the circular form is more exactly maintained. On the alliance money with ΣΥΝ a type for the first time appears on the reverse. These are all indications that the Ephesian mint was reorganized (perhaps about B.C. 406, when the Rhodian standard may have been first introduced), and placed under the superintendence of a responsible magistrate, who probably held office for the space of one year only, as will I think become sufficiently evident in the sequel.

In B.C. 390 the Lacedæmonians again seized Ephesus,

and in their hands it nominally remained until B.C. 387, when Antalcidas concluded with the Persians that disgraceful peace by which Sparta, to serve her own narrow interests, handed over the Greek cities of Asia, one and all, to the yoke of the foreigner. "There can be no doubt," says Curtius (Hist. Gr., vol. iv. p. 274), "that these unfortunate cities were made to feel the yoke newly imposed upon them the more heavily because of the length of time during which they had been withdrawn from it. Citadels were now built in the towns and garrisons placed in them, while those cities which had ventured upon attempts at revolt were destroyed, and taxes were exacted to as large an amount as possible." By this miserable peace the name of Sparta stands for ever dishonoured in history. Even the philo-Laconian Plutarch (Ages. xxxvii.) is obliged to confess that the foreign policy of the Lacedæmonians was such (and not on this occasion only) that "by placing a regard to the advantage of their country in the first rank of honour and virtue, they left themselves no criterion of justice but the aggrandisement of Sparta."

In addition to the alliance coinage, as above described, Ephesus would appear to have commenced in the year B.C. 394 or thereabouts the issue of that long series of tetradrachms of the Rhodian standard which lasted for no less than a whole century.

The earliest coins of this class are easily to be distinguished from the later by the shape of the bees' wings, which are of a curved form precisely as on the "alliance" money of 394—391. On all the later specimens the wings are straight. The letters upon these early specimens are also larger than those upon the rest of the series, and the sigma is of the open form (ϹΕ).

TETRADRACHMS. B.C. 394—387.

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|---|---|---|
| 2. Æ. 6. Wt. 235·3 grs. Brit. Mus.; also the Hague ?] **Pl. II. 2.** | Ε—Φ. Bee with curved wings; border of dots. | Forepart of stag right, with head turned back; behind, a palm-tree and magistrate's name, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΕΩΣ. |
| 3. Æ. 6. Wt. 233 grs. [Brit. Mus.] | Similar. | Similar. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ. |
| 4. Æ. 5¼. Wt. 232 grs. [Brit. Mus.] **Pl. II. 3.** | Similar. | Similar. ΙΓΓΙΝΟΣ. |
| 5. Æ. 6. Wt. 216·3 grs. [Brit. Mus.; broken coin.] | Similar. | Similar. . ΡΙΑΛΘΗΣ. |

We have thus in all the names of five magistrates for the eight years B.C. 394—387, and it is possible that among the tetradrachms of the following period which I have not seen there may be one or two others to add to this list.

## Period V. B.C. 387—295.

Of all the Greek cities of Asia which the Spartans at the Peace of Antalcidas gave up to Persia, Ephesus was perhaps the only one which had not very much cause to regret its change of masters. The kings of Persia had always favoured Ephesus, and we have no reason to suppose that even now, when all Ionia was completely in their power, they did not allow certain cities to retain their own laws and even tyrants, provided that the regular tribute was annually paid into the Persian treasury. The evidence of the coins is sufficient to prove that Ephesus at any rate remained in a flourishing condition, commercially, if not in other respects. One of the tyrants of Ephesus during this period, whose name has come down to us, was Prophytus. We also hear of a Heropythus who liberated Ephesus from her tyrants, and to whom the Ephesians in gratitude erected a monument. When Philip of Macedon also sent Attalus and Parmenio into Asia to endeavour to procure freedom for the Asiatic cities, the Ephesians set up a statue in his honour. They even rose in revolt against the Persians, probably about B.C. 338, and obtained their freedom, but they were not allowed to enjoy it for long. The Persian Autophradates advanced against it with an army, and succeeded by a stratagem in making himself master of the city (Polyæn. vii. 27. 2). After this there was again a Persian garrison at Ephesus, and the government was handed over to an

Oligarchy consisting of the members of a single family, at the head of which was Syrphax and his son Pelagon.

This was the state of affairs when Alexander gained his first victory over the Persians at the Granicus in B.C. 334. On the news of the battle the Greek party in Ephesus began once more to be stirred by hopes of an approaching Liberator, and the Oligarchs to tremble in their seats.

When, therefore, the vanquished Persian army appeared before the walls, the gates were joyfully thrown open to them by Syrphax and his party, who thus reinforced proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon their opponents. They broke open and desecrated the grave of Heropythus the Liberator, and they overthrew the statue of Philip which had been set up in the temple.

Meanwhile Alexander and his victorious troops were drawing nearer and nearer. Memnon, the general of the defeated Persians, withdrew his forces at the approach of the conqueror, and the people were left face to face with their oppressors. Then they rose *en masse*. Syrphax and his son took refuge in the temple, but were torn from the altars and stoned. The other leaders of the Oligarchical party sought safety in flight.

The next day Alexander himself arrived and put an end to the slaughter. He established in the place of the Oligarchy a Democracy, and assigned to the Temple of Artemis the taxes which had hitherto been exacted by the Persians. He also extended the right of asylum to the distance of one stadium from the steps of the temple; in order, perhaps, to obviate future disputes between the priests and the civic authorities. Thus Alexander, by a prudent intervention, put an end to all contentions within the community.

During Alexander's stay at Ephesus his portrait by the

great master Apelles was executed, a painting which was long one of the chief ornaments of the Artemision. Here also he busied himself with plans for the benefit of the various Ionic coast-towns, some of which were carried out, and in gratitude for these the Ionians ever considered King Alexander as their great Liberator, and long afterwards struck coins in his name and celebrated games called Ἀλεξάνδρεια in his honour.

This also was the time when the new and splendid Temple of Artemis was approaching its completion under the superintendence of Dinocrates, the most famous architect of his time. It was erected on the foundations of the old temple, which had been burnt to the ground on the day of the birth of the great Alexander.

The new Democracy seems to have degenerated into a tyranny even during the lifetime of Alexander, for we learn that shortly before Alexander's death, B.C. 324, Philoxenus, the Prefect of Ionia, placed a garrison in Ephesus, and required the three brothers, Anaxagoras, Codrus, and Diodorus, the sons of a certain Echeanax, to be given up to him because they had slain the tyrant Hegesias. This the Ephesians refused to do, whereupon he seized the brothers and confined them in the citadel of Sardes. Anaxagoras and Codrus escaped, but Diodorus was captured and taken to Babylon. Perdiccas, however, after Alexander's death, sent him back to Ephesus to be tried according to the laws of his country, but his brothers, who had meanwhile returned home, set him free. (Polyæn. vi. 49.)

About this time also Clitus, in spite of the autonomy of the town, placed a garrison in Ephesus, but in B.C. 319 the democratical party delivered the city into the hands of Antigonus.

For seventeen years, B.C. 319—302, Ephesus enjoyed a

term of freedom under Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. But when in B.C. 302 Lysimachus invaded the Asiatic dominions of Antigonus, and sent his general Prepelaus along the Ionian coast, Ephesus was surprised and captured by him, the ships in the harbour were burnt to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, and the democratic constitution was in all probability abolished.

On the news of Lysimachus's invasion of Asia, Antigonus, then at his new capital, Antigoneia, on the Orontes, sent immediately to summon his son Demetrius to sail for Asia Minor with all the forces he could collect. When the latter reached Ephesus, he compelled the garrison of Prepelaus to surrender, and at once restored the democratic constitution before proceeding against the other cities which had submitted to Lysimachus.

The year after this, B.C. 301, occurred the great defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus. The battle over, Demetrius fled to Ephesus with what remained of the vanquished army. Here, although he was greatly in want of funds, he refrained, contrary to all expectation, from laying hands on the treasures in the temple, and leaving the city in charge of Diodorus, one of the three brothers who, in Alexander's time, had slain the tyrant Hegesias, he set sail for Caria. During his absence Diodorus began to treat with Lysimachus for the surrender of the city; but Demetrius returned in time to save it for a few years longer from his rival Lysimachus, who did not succeed in making himself finally master of it until the year B.C. 295.

The preceding slight sketch of the history of Ephesus, from the Peace of Antalcidas to the end of the fourth century, is extracted chiefly from Droysen's "Geschichte des Hellenismus."

It remains now to be considered what are the coins

which are to be attributed to this period. We have seen that about B.C. 394 the issue of tetradrachms on the Rhodian standard commenced at Ephesus, the types being on the obverse a bee with *curved* wings as on the older Ephesian coins, and on the reverse the forepart of a stag and a palm-tree.

Within ten years after the first issue of these tetradrachms, and probably about the time of the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, a slight change of style was effected, by which the wings of the bee were straightened and made more symmetrical, the name of the magistrate on the reverse being also written in smaller and neater characters of more recent form.

The number of magistrates' names on the tetradrachms of this series which I have been able to collect from all sources is about eighty. Presuming the office to have been an annual one, it seems almost certain that this series must have terminated after the defeat of Antigonus and Demetrius at Ipsus in 301.

The following is a list of all the specimens of this coinage which have come under my notice :—

CLASS (*a*). TETRADRACHMS. B.C. 387—301.

| E—Φ. Bee with straight wings; border of dots. | Forepart of stag to right looking back; behind, a palm-tree and magistrate's name, as follows :— | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΑΘΗΝΟΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ | Cat. Allier, p. 83. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 284·2 grs. [Pl. II. 5.] | ΑΙΝΕΑΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6¾. Wt. 288·6 grs. | ΑΛΚΙΓΓΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 228·8 grs. | ΑΛΚΕΙΔΗΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 284 grs. | ΑΝΔΡΟΙΤ [ΑΣ] | Imhoof-Blumer. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 6. Wt. 238·5 grs. [Pl. II. 4.] | ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΑΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. Cat. Gréau, n. 1750. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 224 grs. | ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ[4] | Mion. S. vi. n. 184. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 232 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 232 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ | Hunter, p. 135, n. 4; Mion. S. n. 185. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 234 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 228·5 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΕΩΝ | Mion. iii. n. 160; Brandis, p. 456. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 232·7 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΟΧΟΣ | Leake, As. Gr. p. 55. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 229 grs. | ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ | Wigan. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 226 grs. | ΑΡΧΕΛΟΧΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 161; Num. d'Anacharsis, pl. 58. |
| Æ. 6¾. Wt. 231·4 grs. | ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 231 grs. | ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 163; S. vi. n. 187. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 237·8 grs. | ΓΟΡΓΩΓΑΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 188. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 227·8 grs. | ΔΑΝΑΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 5¾. Wt. 231·2 grs. | ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΗΣ[5] | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 189; Mus. Hederv. 9; Cat. Subhi Pasha, n. 796. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ | Sale at London, December, 1870, n. 31. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 227 grs. | ΕΓΚΑΙΡΙΟΣ | Ivanoff sale, n. 276. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. | ΕΟΓΑΘΙΔΗΣ | Huber sale, n. 566. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 228·7 grs. | ΕΟΧΩΡΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 229 grs. | ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 238·5 grs. | ΕΥΚΤΙΤΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 191. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 232·7 grs. | ΞΗΝΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 201; Hunter, p. 135, n. 2; and Université de Leyden. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 229·5 grs. | ΞΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. n. 202. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΞΩΒΙΤΑΣ | Mion. iii. n. 165; Munich (Cousinéry). |

[4] Perhaps [Μ]ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ, q. v.

[5] A coin with this name was erroneously read ΔΗΜΑΡΘΩΝΟΣ in the Hamilton sale catalogue, 1867, No. 49. It was purchased by the late H. N. Davis, Esq., and has now passed into the collection of the University of Aberdeen. I have seen the coin, and it reads ΔΗΜΑΓΟ...

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|---|---|---|
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 227 grs. | ΞΩΙΛΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer; Univ. de Leyden. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΗΓΕΚΛΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 164; Munich (Cousinéry). |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 228·6 grs. | ΗΓΕΛΟΧΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Thomas sale, n. 2142. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 217 grs. | ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 228 grs. | ΘΕΟ ..... | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 225·7 grs. | ΘΡΑΣΥΛΟΧΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 5¼. Wt. 224 grs. | ΘΡΑΣΥΜΗΔΗΣ | Ivanoff sale, n. 277. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΙΓΝΩΤΗΣ | Mus. Lavy, i. n. 2,258. |
| Æ. 5¾. Wt. 230·9 grs. | ΙΓΓΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 232 grs. | ΚΑΡΝΩΨ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 231·2 grs. | ΚΑΥΣΤΡΙΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΙΔΗΣ | The Hague. |
| Æ. 6¼. Wt. 226·8 grs. | ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΟΣ | Mion. S. n. 194; Pembroke, ii. t. x. 9; Huxtable sale, n. 169. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ...ΚΛΕΣ.....?[6] | Mus. Lavy, i. n. 2,259. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ | Cat. Subhi Pasha, n. 230. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΚΟΜΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 195; Cat. Allier, pl. xiv. 14. |
| Æ. Wt. | ΛΥΚΙΣΚ—ΟΣ | Schottenstik, Vienna. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 227 grs. | ΛΥΚΩΝ | Mion. iii. no. 166. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗ[Σ][7] | Mion. S. vi. n. 196. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΜΕΓΑΚΛΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 197; the Hague. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 229·5 grs. | ΜΕΛΑΓΓΡΙΔ[ΑΣ] | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 235 grs. | ΜΕΝΕΣΙΓΓΟΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 198; Berlin. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 231·5 grs. | ΜΕΝΙΓΓΟΣ | Northwick sale, n. 1,051. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 228 grs. | ΜΗΣΤΩΡ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 229 grs. | ΜΗΤΡΑΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 232 grs. | ΜΝΗΣΑΡΧΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6½. Wt. | ΜΝΗΣΙΦΙΛΟΣ | Huxtable sale, n. 168. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 234·7 grs. | ΜΟΙΡΑΓΟΡΑ[Σ | Mion. S. vi. n. 199; Hunter, p. 135, n. 6. |

[6] I conjecture that this name should be [Τ]ΗΛΕΣ[ΤΡΑΣ].

[7] This name is read by De Wilde ("Sel. Num." tab. vi. fig. 35, 1692, 4to) as ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΩ. As this work is not reliable, I have suggested ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ as a more probable reading, especially as this is a name which occurs in an Ephesian inscription of the period to which the coin belongs. (Wood's "Ephesus." Inscr. from City and Suburbs, No. 1.)

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|---|---|---|
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΝΙΚΗΡΑ[ΤΟΣ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 200. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 203. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 217 grs. | ΟΛΥΜΓΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 225 grs. | ΟΛΥΝΓΙΧΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 167. |
| Æ. 7. Wt. | ΟΡΧΑΜΕΝΙΟΣ | Cat. de Palin. n. 224. |
| Æ. 5¾. Wt. 230 grs. | ΓΑΝΑΙ[ΤΙΟΣ] | Northwick sale, n. 1,052; Mion. S. vi. n. 204. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 230 grs. | ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΣ | Brandis, p. 455; Mion. iii. n. 168. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 230 grs. | ΠΕΛΑΓΩΝ[8] | Mion. iii. n. 169. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 230·7 grs. | ΠΕΡΙΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ] | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 229 grs. | ΠΟΛΥΔΑΜΑΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 231·2 grs. | ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ | Brit. Mus.; Hunter, n. 8; Mion. S. vi. n. 203. |
| Æ. Wt. | ΠΟΛΥΞΗΝ... | Schottenstik, Vienna. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 229·5 grs. | [ΓΡ]ΥΤΑΝΙΣ | Hunter, n. 7. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 233·5 grs. | ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 206; Hunter, n. 5. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΣΚΙΡΩΝ | The Hague. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 229 grs. | ΣΩΒΙΟΣ | Brit.-Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 207. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 228 grs. | ΤΗΛΕΣΤΡΑΣ | Mion. iii. n. 170; Univ. de Leyden. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 234 grs. | ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 171; Cat. Behr. n. 563. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 234 grs. | ΦΕΡΑΙΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 172; S. vi. pl. iii. 5; Thomas, 2,141. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 235 grs. | ΦΙΛΙΤΗΣ | Friedländer, K. Münzkab. 218. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 162; Munich, Cousinéry (read as ΑΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ). |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΦΥΡΤΑΣ | Copenhagen. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. | ΧΑΙΡΙΤΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 173; Eckhel, Mus. Cæs. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 232 grs. | ΧΙΜΑΡΟΣ | Coll. of M. Six; Ivanoff, n. 275. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. | ..... ΙΛΟΚΟΣ[9] | Cat. Allier, p. 83. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. | .....ΙΣΤΟΣ | Cat. Allier, p. 83. |

[8] It is not improbable that this magistrate is Pelagon the son of Syrphax, mentioned by Arrian, i. 17, 12.

[9] Probably either [ΑΡΙΣΤ]ΟΛΟΧΟΣ, [ΑΡΧ]ΕΛΟΧΟΣ, [ΗΓ]ΕΛΟΧΟΣ, or [ΘΡΑΣ]ΥΛΟΧΟΣ. The catalogue from which this and the following fragment are taken is not in all cases to be relied upon.

To this period, also, the following small silver coins, in the British Museum, probably belong:—

| | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 1. Wt. 14·2 grs. **Pl. II. 6.** | Ε—Φ. Bee. | ΕΦ. Two stags' heads face to face. |
| Æ. ¾. Wt. 12·3 grs. **Pl. II. 7.** | Similar. | Ε—Φ. Forepart of stag to right, looking back. |

CLASS (β). ATTIC OCTOBOLS. B.C. 301—295.

Identical in type with the above described tetradrachms, but entirely different in weight, are the following rare coins:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4. Wt. 81 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] **Pl. II. 8.** | Ε—Φ. Bee. | Forepart of stag to right, looking back; behind, a palm-tree and magistrate's name, ΔΙΑΣ. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 88 grs. [Hunter, p. 135—9; Mion. S. vi. n. 190.] **Pl. II. 9.** | Similar. | Similar. ΔΟΚΚΑΛΟΣ. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 85·5 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] **Pl. II. 10.** | Similar. | Similar. ΕΚΑΤΟΚΛ[ΗΣ]. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 85·7 grs. [Whittall sale, n. 365.] | Similar. | Similar. ΥΛΑΚΟΣ. |

The remarkable reduction in the weight of the silver money of Ephesus which is proved by the existence of these four coins probably took place in the year B.C. 301, after the battle of Ipsus. The four magistrates here enumerated may be therefore assigned to the period of six years between B.C. 301 and 295, in which year Lysimachus finally obtained possession of Ephesus.

The reason for the abandonment of the Rhodian standard at this time may have been an endeavour on the part of Ephesus to accommodate her coinage to the Attic standard lately introduced into Western Asia Minor by Lysimachus.

The new Ephesian coins of eighty-eight grains would therefore circulate as Attic octobols, or thirds of the

tetradrachms of Lysimachus, as issued after the battle of Ipsus at the neighbouring towns of Erythrae, Smyrna, Magnesia, &c.; while at the same time they would be equivalent to one and a half drachms of the Rhodian standard.[10]

CLASS (γ). COPPER COINAGE. Circ. B.C. 305—295.

The copper coinage of Ephesus begins towards the close of Period V., probably in the last decade of the fourth century. The first issue, as described below, may be attributed to the ten years between 305 and 295.

| | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4. [Mion. iii. n. 232.] | Ε—Φ. Bee. | Stag kneeling left, looking back; in field above, astragalus and ΑΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΒΟΣ.[11] |
| Æ. 4. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. II. 11. | Similar. | Similar, but ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΑΣ. |
| Æ. 4. [Mion. iii. 233.] Pl. II. 13. | Similar. | Similar, but ΓΥΛΙΠΠΟΣ.[12] |
| Æ. 2½.[13] [Mion. iii. n. 234.] Pl. II. 12. | Similar. | Similar, but ΕΚΑΤΟΚΛΗΣ. |
| Æ. 4. [Brit. Mus.] | Similar. | Similar, but ΙΠΠΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ. |
| Æ. 4. [Brit. Mus.] | Similar. | Similar, but ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ. |
| Æ. 4. [Imhoof-Blumer; Mion. iii. n. 231.] | Similar. | Similar, but ΧΙΜΑΡΟΣ. |

[10] It is a curious fact that coins of this weight appear to have come into fashion about the year B.C. 300 in various parts of the Greek world; at Ephesus between 301 and 258; at Miletus about the same time; under Pyrrhus between 295 and 272; under Hiero of Syracuse after 275; at Tauromenium in Sicily after 275, and in Bruttium after about 280. There are also Aetolian coins of this weight and probably of the same period.

[11] A similar coin is described by Mionnet, Supplement vi. No. 282, where the magistrate's name is apparently misread ΑΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΟΣ.

[12] Wrongly read by Mionnet as ΚΥΛΙΠΠΟΣ. The coin is now in the Munich collection.

[13] The size of this coin is wrongly given as 4 by Mionnet.

EPHESUS PLATE II — PERIODS IV–V.

Of the above names no less than four occur also on the silver money of Period V., so that we have only three more names to add to the two lists of magistrates given above ($\alpha$ and $\beta$), making in all about eighty-seven names for a period of ninety-two years. It must be confessed that it is a very remarkable fact that so large a proportion as (allowing for deaths during office) about 90 per cent. of the names of the Ephesian Eponymi should have been preserved to the present time, and were this an isolated case we should be tempted to argue that it is improbable in the extreme that the list can be anything like complete, and that consequently the magistracy must have been renewed more than once a year. When, however, it is borne in mind that in no single instance, in all the periods into which I have divided the autonomous coinage of Ephesus, does the number of magistrates' names exceed what might be reasonably expected, while in every case it is approximate to the duration, in years, of the period to which the coins are on other grounds attributed, then, I say, it becomes manifest that a proportion so consistently maintained can be explained in one way only.

The magistrate whose name serves for a date is the annual Eponymus of Ephesus. One contingency only can upset this conclusion, viz., the discovery of say a dozen new names on the coinage of Period V., and of a proportionate number of new names in the other periods. And if as many as this remain still unknown, then indeed it may be inferred that we now know less than half the original number of names, which in that case may well have been 184 in the 92 years B.C. 387—295.

## Period VI. B.C. 295—288.

In the year B.C. 295 Lysimachus succeeded in making himself master of Ephesus, which had until then remained in the hands of Demetrius. We are told that the low-lying parts of the town had suffered greatly from floods, and that Lysimachus in consequence caused a portion of it to be rebuilt on higher ground. He also changed the name of the city to that of his wife Arsinoë. The exact date of this change of name is uncertain; as, however, some of the coins of Lysimachus bear the name of Ephesus, it is probable that the name was not changed as early as B.C. 295. In the interval between B.C. 295 and the year when the name of the town was changed, the Ephesian democracy was superseded by a new form of government of a more oligarchical character, in consequence of the marked hostility of the democracy to the rule of Lysimachus. The new government consisted of a Senate chosen from among the richest citizens, called ἐπικληροί. The municipalities of Colophon and Lebedus were also united with that of Ephesus, under the same or a similar constitution.

When Demetrius, after the loss of his Macedonian kingdom, passed over again into Asia, we hear of Ephesus as again belonging to him; for when he proceeded to Phrygia he left Aenetus as prefect of the city. This Aenetus was at first supported by Mandron, the chief of the pirates; but this man being shortly afterwards bribed by Lycus,

one of Lysimachus's generals, the city once more fell into the hands of Lysimachus [Frontinus, Stratag. iii. 3, 7].

The coins which in my opinion belong to the seven years B.C. 295—288 are the following:—

(a) Attic Octobols.

| Head of Artemis diademed to right, shoulders draped. | ΕΦΕ. Bow and quiver: in field a bee and magistrate's name. | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 88 grs. | ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ | Num. Chron. ii. p. 171—176, Pl. n. 6. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 85 grs. [Pl. III. 1.] | ΕΡΞΙΑΣ | Imhoof-Blumer; Choix, pl. iii. 117. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 86 grs. [Pl. III. 2.] | ΕΧΕΑΝΑΞ | Brit. Mus. |

The change of type on the silver money during this period is remarkable if considered in connection with the political events of the time, when the tie of dependency by which the city had been attached to the temple of the Asiatic goddess was severed by the sword of the Macedonian Lysimachus.[14]

Now, for the first time, the bee which had for so many ages maintained its place on the obverse of the coinage of Ephesus as the signet of the high priest (or King Bee, ἐσσήν) gives way to a purely Hellenic type, the head of the Greek huntress goddess, whose bow and quiver occupy the whole field of the reverse; the bee being relegated to the copper coins, and on the silver to an inferior position, as a mere symbol or mint-mark.

With regard to the magistrate's name Echeanax, which has generally been accepted as referring to the Echeanax mentioned by Polyænus (vi. 49) as the father of the three brothers who slew the tyrant Hegesias in the reign of

[14] Newton, "Essays on Art and Archæology," p. 221.

Alexander the Great, it may be remarked that it is hardly probable that this man could have been still living at the time when these coins must have been struck. The Echeanax of the coin may very well, however, have been a grandson of the elder Echeanax.

The copper coins which I would attribute to this period are the following :—

(β) Copper Coinage.

| Ε—Φ. Bee; border of dots. | Stag standing right; above, quiver, in front magistrate's name. | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4. [Pl. III. 3.] | ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ] | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 3½. | ...ΕΡ...ΕΥ..... | Mion. iii. n. 224. |
| Æ. 4. [Pl. III. 4.] | [ΚΑΛ]ΛΙΜΕΝΗΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 3. | ΧΑΡΜΙΝΟΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 301. |

In addition to the municipal coins, Lysimachus caused to be struck at the Ephesian Mint during this period gold staters and silver drachms on the Attic standard, as follows :—

(γ) Royal Coinage of Lysimachus.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N. 4½. Wt. 135 grs. [Müller, 420.] | Head of Alexander. | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Pallas seated; in field Ε—Φ and bee. |
| R. 4. Wt. 67 grs. [Müller, 421.] | Similar. | Similar. |
| R. 4. Wt. 67 grs. [Müller, 422.] | Similar. | Similar, but with monogram [illegible] on throne. |
| R. 4. Wt. 67 grs. [Müller, 423.] | Similar. | Similar, but [illegible] on throne. |

## Period VII. B.C. 288—280.

In B.C. 287 Lysimachus, after he had regained possession of Ephesus, bestowed it together with the rest of Ionia upon his son Agathocles. He also changed the name of the city to that of his wife Arsinoë, but probably before B.C. 287.

The government of Agathocles was very popular, and he appears to have deserved the affection of the Ephesians. When, therefore, some years afterwards, in B.C. 284, Lysimachus caused him to be murdered, and when his widow had fled to the court of Seleucus for protection, a strong party in Ephesus at once espoused the cause of the King of Syria.

This party, after the victory of Seleucus and the death of Lysimachus in 281, rose in arms against the opposite faction which adhered to Arsinoë, opened the gates to Seleucus, threw down the walls which Lysimachus had built, and would have slain the queen had she not succeeded in escaping alone and in disguise to the harbour, where she embarked and proceeded out to sea before her absence became known.

The coins of the time (it may be eight or nine years) during which Ephesus bore the name of Arsinoë are the following :—

(a) Attic Octobols, etc.

| | |
|---|---|
| Head of Arsinoë to right, veiled ; border of dots. | ΑΡΣΙ. Bow and quiver; in the field, bee; magistrate's name and monogram. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 81 grs. [Pl. III. 5.] | ΓΟΝΕΥΣ and ⋿ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 3. Wt. 42 grs. [Pl. III. 6.] | ΓΟΝΕΥΣ ,, ,, | Munich. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 76 grs. | [ΗΓΗ]ΣΑΝΔΡ[ΟΣ] ,, ,, | The Hague. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 86·3 grs. [Pl. III. 7.] | ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ and ⋿ | Berlin (Fox collection). |
| Æ. 2. Wt. 19 grs. | No name ? | Berlin (Prokesch-Osten, Inedita, 1854, p. 52). |

(β) Copper Coinage.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Head of Arsinoë to right, veiled. | AP—ΣΙ. Stag kneeling left looking back; in field above, astragalus and magistrate's name :— | |
| Æ. 4. | [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ[Ν///// | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 3. [Pl. III. 8.] | ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΟΣ | Brit. Mus. (2 specimens). |
| Æ. 4. | [Τ]ΙΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ | Coll. Soutzo, Athens. |
| Æ. 4. [Pl. III. 9.] | ΦΙΛΟΦΡΩΝ | University of Aberdeen. |
| Æ. 4. (without ΑΡΣΙ). | ////////ΑΓΗΡΟ////// ? [15] | Berlin. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Head of Arsinoë to right, veiled. | AP—ΣΙ. Forepart of stag right, looking back; in field left, astragalus and magistrate's name :— | |
| Æ. 2. | [Μ]ΕΛΑΙΝΕΥΣ[ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 2. | ΓΑΛΛΙ..... ? [16] | Brit. Mus. |

Here we have as many as eight Eponymi at least, and perhaps nine, which certainly belong to the period during which Ephesus bore the name of Arsinoë.

The royal coinage of Lysimachus bearing the monogram of Arsinoë is as follows :—

---

[15] This is Dr. Friedlaender's reading. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has read it ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟϹ. May it not be rather ΤΙΜ]ΑΓΟΡΑ[Σ ? The coin is very indistinct.

[16] Not improbably ΜΕΛΑΙ. The coin is in very poor condition.

(γ) Royal Coinage of Lysimachus.

| | |
|---|---|
| AV. *Stater.* Head of Alexander. [Müller, n. 429.] | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. Pallas seated; in field AR and bee; beneath throne, EM. |
| AR. *Tetradrachm.* Similar. [Müller, n. 430.] | Similar. AR, bee, and EM. |
| AR. *Drachm.* Similar. [Müller, n. 431.] | Similar. AR, bee, and EM. |
| AR. *Tetradrachm.* Similar. [Müller, n. 432.] | Similar. AR, bee, and ME. |
| AR. *Tetradrachm.* Similar. [Müller, n. 433.] | Similar. AR, bee, and thunderbolt. |
| AR. *Tetradrachm.* Similar. [Müller, n. 434.] | Similar. AR (no bee) and ME. |
| AR. *Tetradrachm.* Similar. [Müller, n. 435, 436.] | Similar. AR (no bee) and PA. |

To these may, perhaps, be added Nos. 424—428 of Müller, consisting of tetradrachms and drachms as above, with the bee, but without the mint-mark AR, and either without any monogram or with one of the following:— Σ, ΣΕ, ΣΕ. The first of these three monograms is identical with that which appears on the coins of Ephesus-Arsinoë, together with the eponymous magistrates' name ΓΟΝΕΥΣ. The monograms EM, ME, and PA may possibly be those of the magistrates ΜΕΛΑΙΝΕΥΣ and ΠΑΛΑΙ . . . . but this is not likely.

## Period VIII. B.C. 280—258.

During the next twenty years we know very little of the history of Ephesus. After the death of Seleucus, in B.C. 280, it seems to have enjoyed a brief term of autonomy, during which, perhaps, occurred the inroad of the Gauls, from which it is said to have suffered together with the greater part of Western Asia Minor. After this the city appears to have been subject to Antiochus I. down to the end of his reign in B.C. 261.

The coins which I would attribute to the reign of Antiochus I. are the following. In weight the silver money corresponds with that of Periods VI. and VII. :—

### (a) Attic Octobols.

| Head of Artemis wearing stephane to right; at her shoulder bow and quiver; she wears an earring in the form of a winged Nike ? | Ε—Φ. Forepart of stag right, head turned back; behind, a palm-tree; in field left, a bee and magistrate's name :— | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4. Wt. 73·4 grs. [Pl. III. 10.] | [Α]ΝΤΙΦΩΝ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 75·2 grs. [Pl. III. 11.] | [ΕΟ]ΕΛΘΩ[Ν] | Brit. Mus. |

| Head of Artemis wearing stephane to right; at her shoulder bow and quiver. | Forepart of stag right, head turned back. | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 2. Wt. 18 grs. | (No name.) | University of Aberdeen. |

(β) COPPER COINAGE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ε—Φ. Bee. | Stag kneeling left and looking back; above, astragalus; in front, magistrate's name :— | |
| Æ. 2. | [ΑΛΚ]ΙΠΠΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 1½. | [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ... | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 2½. | ΑΤΡΕΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 281. |
| Æ. 2½. | [Δ]ΗΜΟΦΩΝ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 3. | ΔΙΑΔ..... | Leake, Asia, p. 49. (The astragalus is here called *tettix*.) |
| Æ. 2½. [Pl. III. 12.] | ΕΟΕΛΘΩΝ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 2½. | ΕΧΕΔΑΜ[ΟΣ] | Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,764. |
| Æ. 1. | ΚΟΡΥ[ΛΑΣ] | Leake, Asia, p. 49. |
| Æ. 2½. | ΜΕΓΑΛΗΤΩΡ | Mion. iii. n. 229. |
| Æ. 1½. [Pl. III. 13.] | [ΣΩΣ]ΙΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ] | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 2½. | .....ΤΡΙΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 228. |
| Female head left, laur. and turreted; behind, astragalus. | | Bee. Border of dots. |
| Æ. 2. [Pl. III. 14.] | ΗΓΕ ΛΟ ΧΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 2. [Pl. III. 15.] | ΟΙΩ ΝΟΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |

These copper coins are connected with the silver of the same period by the name ΕΟΕΛΘΩΝ,[17] which occurs on both metals. It is satisfactory also to find the name of the magistrate ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ . . . . recorded as still in office both while the city bore the name of Arsinoë and afterwards. The date of the year of office of this magistrate may be therefore fixed as circ. B.C. 280—279.

Whether the following small bronze coin belongs to this period or not is doubtful :—

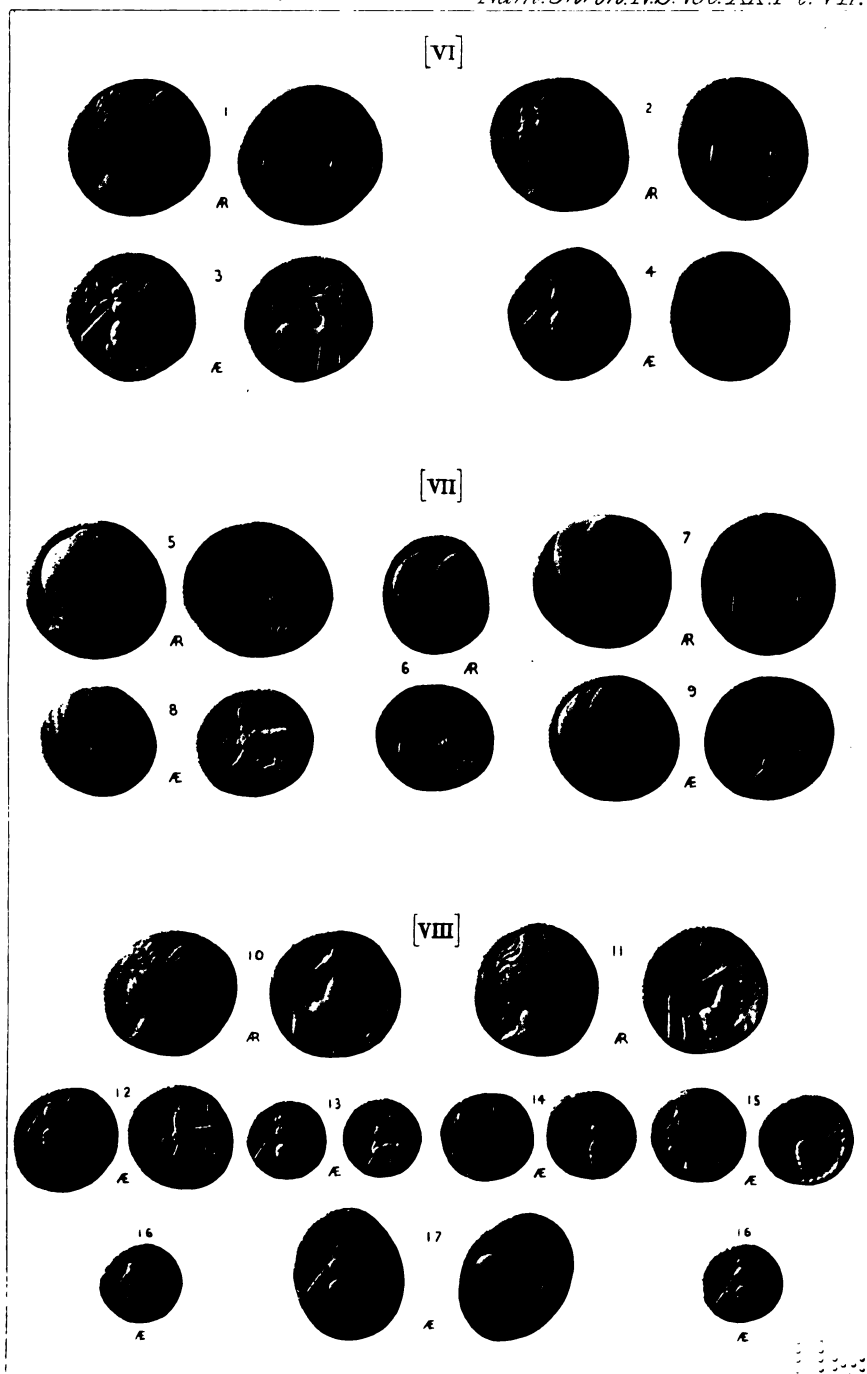
| | |
|---|---|
| Female head left, turreted. Æ. 1½. (Good style of art.) [Pl. III. 16.] | Ε—Φ. Bee. Brit. Mus. |

[17] This is the last occurrence on coins of the Ionic form ΕΟ for ΕΥ. See Curtius, G. Studien, Bd. v. p. 294.

It seems certain, however, that the copper coins with the feeding stag on the reverse and a quiver in the field belong to the period of Seleucid rule, as among the magistrates' names in this series there are two, ΑΛΚΙΓΓΟΣ and ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ, which occur also on the bronze coins above described, which cannot be separated from the silver.

| Ε—Φ. Bee in wreath. | Stag feeding right; above, quiver; in exergue, magistrate's name:— | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 3. | [ΑΛ]ΚΙΓΓΟΣ | Leake, Sup. Asia, p. 49. |
| Æ. 3. | ΑΓΗΝ[ΩΡ] | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 3. | ΕΥΓΟΛΟΣ | Leake, As. Gr. p. 55. |
| Æ. 3. | ΞΑΝΘΙ[ΓΓΟΣ?] | Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,769. |
| Æ. 3½. [Pl. III. 17.] | ΣΟΛΩΝ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. | ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ | Mion. iii. no. 221. |

The total number of names for this period of twenty-two years appears at present therefore to be eighteen.




EPHESUS PLATE III—PERIODS VI–VIII.

## Period IX. B.C. 258—202.

On the death of Antiochus Ephesus fell into the hands of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who appointed his bastard son Ptolemy, the half-brother of Euergetes, to be governor of the city B.C. 258.

This Ptolemy was foolish enough to imagine that he was sufficiently strong as tyrant of the chief city of Ionia to make himself independent of his father, for which purpose he allied himself with Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, and these two appear to have declared Ephesus and Miletus independent both of Egypt and Syria. How long they were able to maintain this position we cannot say, but shortly afterwards the Thracian mercenaries in Ephesus, bribed (as Droysen supposes) by the King of Egypt, revolted against the young governor, who with his mistress Eirene fled for refuge to the Temple of Artemis, where they were both slaughtered, the altar of the goddess being sprinkled with the blood of Eirene.

After this episode Ephesus returned to her allegiance to the Egyptian monarch, who, some years afterwards, B.C. 248, presented it to his daughter Berenice as her dowry on the occasion of her marriage with Antiochus II. (Theos) of Syria.

The story of the revenge of Laodice, the former wife of Antiochus, and how she poisoned her husband, not in but near Ephesus, I need not here repeat in full, but it deserves mention, as it throws some light upon an obscure period

of Ephesian history. It seems that one Sophron, the Prefect of Ephesus (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Εφέσου, Athenæus, xiii. p. 593) was one of the principal supporters of the party of the king's Egyptian bride Berenice, and that Laodice, after the murder of her husband, endeavoured to compass his death also, and would have accomplished her purpose had he not made his escape from the palace of Laodice to Ephesus. From this we gather that at this time, B.C. 247, Ephesus must have been still attached to Egypt. We may suppose, therefore, that on the death of Antiochus II. the city, which had fallen to him as Berenice's dowry, was again separated from Syria and reunited to Egypt.

From this time until the end of the century Ephesus remained in the possession of the kings of Egypt, Ptolemies III.—V., and probably enjoyed a considerable amount of independence.

Ptolemy III. (Euergetes) seems to have bestowed it upon his wife Berenice, as Lysimachus had previously upon Arsinoë, and Ptolemy II. upon his daughter Berenice. To the reign of Euergetes may, therefore, be assigned the following gold coin of Berenice II. struck at Ephesus:—

(a) Gold Coin of Berenice.

| | |
|---|---|
| Head of Berenice II. veiled, to right; border of dots. | ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ. Cornucopiæ with corn and fruit; in field left, a bee. |

*N*. 7. Wt. 427·9 grs. | Octadrachm of the Ptolemaic standard.

This *Queen* Berenice, the wife of Euergetes, who succeeded to the throne of Egypt in 246 B.C., must be carefully distinguished from the other Berenice mentioned above, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The following is a list of the municipal coins of Ephesus

which belong to the period of the rule of the Ptolemies circ. B.C. 258—202.

### (β) Rhodian Didrachms and Drachms.

| Bust of Artemis draped right, wearing stephane; no earring; bow and quiver at her shoulders. | Ε—Φ. Forepart of stag right, head turned back; in field left, magistrate's name :— | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 102·3 grs. | ΑΘΗΝΟΓΟΛΙΤ[ΗΣ] | Recent find;[18] Mion. S. vi. n. 208. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 99·5 grs. | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Σ] | Recent find; Cat. Allier, p. 84; Gréau, 1,753. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 102 grs. | [Α] ΝΤΙΓΟΝΟ[Σ] | Recent find; Cat. Thorwaldsen, 1460—61. |
| Æ. 4¼. Wt. 102·8 grs. | [ΑΡ]ΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ] | Recent find. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩΝ | Imhoof-Blumer; Mionnet, S. vi. n. 209. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 87·2 grs. | ΑΡΙΣΤΡΑΤ[ΟΣ] | Recent find. |
| Æ. 4¾. Wt. 99·7 grs. | ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ | Recent find; Cat. Santangelo, 11,309. |
| Æ. 5¼. Wt. 98·2 grs. | ΒΑΤΤΑΣ | Recent find. |
| Æ. 3¼. Wt. 50 grs. [Pl. IV. 3.] | ,, | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 6. Wt. 98·8 grs. | ΓΡΥΛΙΣ | Brit. Mus.; Coll. Six, 102 grs. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs. | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ | Recent find. |
| Æ. 4¼. Wt. 101 grs. | ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ | Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 210. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 101·4 grs. | ΔΙΑΙΤΟ[Σ] | Recent find. |
| Æ. 4¼. Wt. 101·5 grs. | ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ | Recent find. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101·5 grs. | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (C in field) | Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 211. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. | ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ | The Hague; Mion. S. vi. n. 212. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101·3 grs. | ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ | Cat. Thomas, n. 2,142. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs. | ΕΡΜΩΝ | Mion. S. vi. n. 215. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs. | ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 214. |

[18] The greater part of this recent find of didrachms belongs at the present time to Mr. Lawson of Smyrna.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs. | ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 132 (misspelt ΕΥΝΙΧΟΣ). |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 99·8 grs. | ΞΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ | Collection Six. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 96 grs. | ΘΕΡΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ | Recent find. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 101 grs. | ΙΔΟΜΕΝΕΥΣ | Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 216. |
| Æ. 4¾. Wt. 99·2 grs. | ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ | Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 217. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 100·7 grs. | ΚΑΥΣΤΡΙ[ΟΣ] | Recent find. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs. | ΛΙΜΝΑΙΟΣ | Recent find. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 99·2 grs. | ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 218. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 99·7 grs. | ΜΙΝΝΟΣ | Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 219. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 99 grs. | ΜΥΤΑΣ | Recent find; Northwick, 1,053. |
| Æ. 3. Wt. 50 grs. [Pl. IV. 4] | ,, | Munich. |
| Æ. 4¾. Wt. 101 grs. | ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 220. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 100 grs. | ΝΙΚΙΑΣ | Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 221. |
| Æ. 3. Wt. 46 grs. | ,, | Coll. Six; Cat. Whittall, n. 448. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs. | ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΣ (Ε in field) | Mion. S. vi. n. 222. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 99·4 grs. [Pl. IV. 1.] | ΠΑΡΡΑΣΙΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs. | ΠΡΩΤΙΩΝ | Recent find. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs. | ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ | University of Aberdeen; Mion. S. vi. n. 223. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 101 grs. | ΣΚΟΠΑΔΗΣ | Recent find; cf. Mion. S. vi. n. 224. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101·8 grs. [Pl. IV. 2.] | ΣΩΣΙΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 225. |
| Æ. 5½. Wt. 100·5 grs. | ΤΕΛΕΣΙΑΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 226. |
| Æ. 5. Wt. 101·5 grs. | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 227. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 102·5 grs. | ΧΑΡΟΠΙΝΟ[Σ] | Recent find. |
| Æ. 3½. (?) | (?) | Mion. S. vi. n. 228. |

(γ) COPPER COINAGE.

Same type and symbol (bee) in field.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 3. [Pl. IV. 5.] | [ΔΙΟ]ΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 2½ | ΠΛΑΤ[ΩΝ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 280. |
| Æ. 3. | ΠΡΩΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 3 | (?) | Brit. Mus. |

We have here the names in all of forty-one annual Eponymi. Supposing, then, that this coinage commenced in B.C. 258, and allowing a margin of about a dozen names, we arrive at the close of the century for the termination of this series. That the above coinage is that of Ephesus under the Ptolemies is evident not only from the number of names, which corresponds sufficiently with the number of years during which Ephesus formed part of the dominions of the kings of Egypt, but also from the change of standard which took place at Ephesus apparently when the city fell into their hands.

The reason of this change of weight in the Ephesian coinage is not far to seek. The new coins are, in fact, on the Rhodian standard of this period, and its adoption by Ephesus is a proof that the markets of Egypt and of the Phoenician towns subject to Egypt, which the Rhodians had held almost exclusively in their own hands, were now thrown open to Ephesus also.

Thus Ephesus, which had for about fifty years issued little more than a local currency, was re-established as the second great commercial city of Greece, Rhodes being still the first. Ephesus became, indeed, so important a city during this period of her connection with Egypt that she was able to maintain herself in *quasi* independence for a considerable time against the advancing power of Antiochus the Great, who succeeded to the throne of

Syria in B.C. 222, in the same year that the weak and vicious Ptolemy Philopator mounted that of Egypt.

From this time forth the prosperity of Egypt began to decline in proportion as that of Syria increased, and when, in B.C. 205, Ptolemy Philopator died, and left his inheritance to a child of five years of age, we may well imagine that the Ephesians may have taken into serious consideration the advisability or even the possibility of maintaining much longer the isolated position in which they now found themselves (their town being the last post occupied by an Egyptian garrison in Asia Minor) in the face of the growing power on the one side of Antiochus, and on the other of Philip V. of Macedon.

The dilemma in which the Ephesians were placed was solved for them by the appearance of Antiochus at their gates, who obtained possession of the city by the following stratagem:—

"Antiochus warring against the Ephesians, ordered the Rhodians, who formed part of his army, to attack the harbour at night-time with great noise; and when all the people were hasting thither in disorder, leaving the other posts of defence unguarded, Antiochus attacked the city in the rear and took it" (Frontinus, Strat. iii. 9, 10).

This was probably soon after his great victory over the Egyptian general Scopas, near Paneas, in B.C. 198, by which he got possession of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; Aradus, the principal sea-port on these coasts, being apparently the only town which still remained in a state of independence, recognising no master but the deified Alexander, in whose name it continued to issue its money, consisting of dated tetradrachms and drachms of the type of Alexander's coinage (Müller, Class V.).

In the period shortly before the capture of Ephesus by Antiochus, when it had become evident that the Egyptian Empire was about to fall in pieces, Ephesus, like Aradus, appears to have asserted her independence by the issue of Attic tetradrachms and drachms (class $\beta$) bearing the types of Alexander the Great (Müller, Class V., Nos. 1015—1017), the founder of her liberties.

These Ephesian Alexandrine tetradrachms of Müller,

Syria in B.C. 222, in the same year that the weak and vicious Ptolemy Philopator mounted that of Egypt.

From this time forth the prosperity of Egypt began to decline in proportion as that of Syria increased, and when, in B.C. 205, Ptolemy Philopator died, and left his inheritance to a child of five years of age, we may well imagine that the Ephesians may have taken into serious consideration the advisability or even the possibility of maintaining much longer the isolated position in which they now found themselves (their town being the last post occupied by an Egyptian garrison in Asia Minor) in the face of the growing power on the one side of Antiochus, and on the other of Philip V. of Macedon.

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This was probably soon after his great victory over the Egyptian general Scopas, near Paneas, in B.C. 198, by which he got possession of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; Aradus, the principal sea-port on these coasts, being apparently the only town which still remained in a state of independence, recognising no master but the deified Alexander, in whose name it continued to issue its money, consisting of dated tetradrachms and drachms of the type of Alexander's coinage (Müller, Class V.).

In the period shortly before the capture of Ephesus by Antiochus, when it had become evident that the Egyptian Empire was about to fall in pieces, Ephesus, like Aradus, appears to have asserted her independence by the issue of Attic tetradrachms and drachms (class $\beta$) bearing the types of Alexander the Great (Müller, Class V., Nos. 1015—1017), the founder of her liberties.

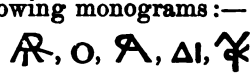
These Ephesian Alexandrine tetradrachms of Müller,

Class V., may very probably have commenced about B.C. 202, the date of the beginning of a similar series at Aradus bearing dates in Greek characters, the previous coins of that city having been dated in Phoenician characters.

This apparent coincidence seems to indicate that Ephesus and Aradus, the two great commercial centres of the Phoenician and the Asiatic coasts respectively, may have found it to their mutual advantage about this time to conclude a monetary treaty, by which each city might secure a free circulation for her coins on the markets of the other; the tetradrachms of Alexander's types struck at Aradus being only distinguishable from those issued at Ephesus by the monogram and the palm-tree in the place of ΕΦ and the bee on those of Ephesus.

For the space of about seven years, B.C. 196?—189?, Ephesus formed part of the dominions of Antiochus the Great, during which time it was the chief seat of the war which he was then waging against the Romans. But after the great defeat of Antiochus at the Battle of Magnesia, in B.C. 190, Ephesus, on the conclusion of the peace B.C. 189, was presented by the victorious Romans with the rest of Ionia to their ally Eumenes, King of Pergamus.

To this period of about seven years (B.C. 196—189) probably belong (γ) the Alexandrine tetradrachms of Müller, Class VI., Nos. 1018—1024, with the bee mint-mark and the following monograms:—



and in one instance a cornucopiæ.

The transition in style from Class V. to Class VI. of Müller occurs on the dated money of Aradus about the year 198, whence it may be argued that a similar change

in the style of the Ephesian Alexandrine tetradrachms took place at the same time.

The following long series of Ephesian drachms of Attic weight, but with Ephesian and not Alexander's types, must also have commenced about the time when Ephesus was united to the dominions of Antiochus, or rather a few years earlier; and the adoption somewhat later by Aradus of identical types on her drachms (dated B.C. 170—147) is a striking proof that the commercial interests of these two cities continued to be the same.

The Ephesian coinage of these drachms covers the whole period between B.C. 202 and 133.

(a) Attic Drachms.

| E—Φ. Bee; border of dots. | Stag standing right before a palm-tree; in front, magistrate's name. | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 3½. Wt. 59 grs. | ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 232. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 63 grs. [Pl. IV. 9.] | ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. iii. n. 174. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΙϹΧΡΙΩΝ | In the possession of a dealer. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 64 grs. [Pl. IV. 6.] | ΑΙΧΜΟΚΛ[ΗΣ] | Brit. Mus.; Hunter, p. 135, n. 16. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ | Huber sale, n. 568. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 61 grs. | ΑΝΤΙΜΗΔ[ΗΣ] | Mion. iii. n. 175. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 62·8 grs. | ΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 231. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 64 grs. | ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 176. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ | Whittall sale, 1867, n. 366. |
| Æ. 3½. Wt. 65 grs. | ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗ[Σ] | Wigan; Hunter, n. 12. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 234. |
| Æ. 3½. Wt. | ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩ[Ν] | Subhi Pasha, n. 232. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔ[ΩΡΟΣ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 235. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 64 grs. | ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ | Coll. Six; Univ. de Leyden. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΣΤΡΟΠΙΔ[ΗΣ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 256. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΑΥΤΟΜΕΔΩ[Ν] | Huber sale, n. 567. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4. Wt. 65 grs. | ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ[19] | Hunter, n. 15; Mion. S. vi. n. 236. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΒΙΑΝΩΡ | Mion. iii. n. 178. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 61·2 grs. | ΔΑΝΑΟΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 237; Hunter, n. 10. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. | ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ | Huber sale, n. 567. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 63·5 grs. | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ | Leake, add., p. 49; Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 181.. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 60 grs. | ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΗ[Σ] | Mion. iii. n. 180. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 62 grs. | ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ] | Mion. iii. n. 182. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΔΡΟΠΙΔΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 183. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 58·5 grs. | ΕΥΚΛΗΣ | Hunter, p. 136, n. 17. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΕΥΚΡΙΤΟ[Σ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 239. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 64·4 grs. [Pl. IV. 7.] | ΕΥΝΟΥΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 62·6 grs. | ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 64 grs. [Pl. IV. 8.] | ΞΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ | Mion. iii. n. 190; Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 60·6 grs. | ΞΩΗΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 61 grs. | ΞΩΠΥΡΟΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 241. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | [Η]ΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗ[Σ] | Cat. Camille, Rome, 1863, n. 166. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 58·5 grs. | ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 242. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΘΡΑΣΕΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 240. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 58·5 grs. | ΚΑΛΛΙΞΕΝΗ[Σ] | Mion. iii. n. 184. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΚΑΛΛ[ΙΣ]ΘΕΝΗΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 244. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤ[ΟΣ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 243. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΚΥΡΡΑΛΙΑΣ | Mion. iii. n. 185. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 245. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 61·7 grs. | ΛΙΧΑΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 246. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΜΑΤΙΛΛΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 247. |
| Æ. 3½. Wt. 60 grs. | [ΜΕ]ΛΑΝΚΟΜΑΣ[20] | University of Aberdeen. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΜΗΝΟΦΑ[ΝΗΣ] | Mion. iii. n. 187. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΜΗΤΡΑΣ | Cat. Subhi Pasha, n. 232. |

[19] Concerning this magistrate's name, see below, p. 168.

[20] This is probably the same man as the Melancomas of Ephesus, who is mentioned by Polybius (viii. 17—21) as taking part in the conspiracy to liberate Achæus from the citadel of Sardes, B.C. 214. The coin bearing this name is probably, therefore, one of the earliest of the series.

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|---|---|---|
| Æ. 4. Wt. 64·4 grs. | ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ | Leake, p. 55; Mion. S. vi. n. 249. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 55 grs. | ΜΟΙΡΑΓΕΝΗΣ | Mion. iii. n. 186 and 189. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 63·5 grs. | ΜΟΛΠΟΣ | Hunter, p. 135, n. 14; Mion. S. vi. 250. |
| Æ. 3½. Wt. 64 grs. | ΝΙΚΟΛΟΧΟΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | [Π]ΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ] | Cat. Rollin et Feuardent, 5,094. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 251. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΠΛΑΤΩΝ | Cat. Gréau, n. 1,751; Subhi, 231. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. | ΡΟΔΙΩΝ | Cat. Gréau, n. 1,752. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 62 grs. | ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ | Hunter, p. 135, n. 11; Mion. S. vi. 248 and 252. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 60 grs. | ΣΩΣΙΣ | Mion. iii. n. 191. |
| Æ. 3. Wt. | ΣΩΤΑΣ | Cat. de Palin, n. 224. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 62 grs. | ΤΑΥΡΕΑ[Σ] | Mion. iii. n. 192. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 61 grs. | ΤΙΜΑΝΘΗ[Σ] | Mion. S. vi. n. 253. |
| Æ. 4½. Wt. 64·3 grs. | ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ | Pembroke Cat. n. 907; Mion. S. vi. 255. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 52 grs. | [ΦΙΛ]ΩΤΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 257. |
| Æ. 4. Wt. 61·5 grs. | ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΥΣ | Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 254. |

COPPER.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| E—Φ. Bee in wreath of laurel. | | Stag standing in front of palm-tree; in ex. magistrate's name. In front sometimes a monogram. |
| Æ. 4. | ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 302. |
| Æ. 4. | ΑΙΝΗΑΣ | Imhoof-Blumer. |
| Æ. 4. | ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[ΙΔΗΣ] & Σ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. | ΑΡΚΑΣ & Σ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ & Α | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. [Pl. IV. 10.] | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ Δ— Α | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC & ΑΓ | Mion. iii. n. 219. |
| Æ. 2½. | ΕΡΜΙΑΣ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. | ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ & Σ | Brit. Mus. |
| Æ. 4. | ΜΙΝΗΑΣ | Mion. S. vi. n. 303. |

In the above list of copper coins it is more than probable that ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ, ΑΙΝΗΑΣ, and ΜΙΝΗΑΣ are one and the same name; the latter form a mis-reading of Sestini, from whom Mionnet takes it. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, and ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ occur also on the silver money. There remain, therefore, only three names to be added to the long list on the drachms, making a total of about sixty-four names for a period of sixty-nine years.

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In addition to the preceding silver and copper money, here attributed to the period between B.C. 202 and 133, we must not omit to mention the royal money of the kings of Pergamus, in whose dominions Ephesus was included after the peace of B.C. 189.

The following tetradrachms appear to have been struck at Ephesus between B.C. 189 and 159, in the reign of Eumenes II. :—

(δ) PHILETÆRIAN TETRADRACHMS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Head of Philetaerus. His diadem twined round laurel wreath. | ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ. Pallas seated left, holding wreath; her left arm resting on buckler, across her shoulder a lance, behind her a bow, in front Bee, and following monograms :— |
| Bee, ΔΙ | Mion. S. v. n. 1182. |
| Bee, ΑΝ | Mion. S. v. n. 1183. |
| Bee, Thunderbolt. | Mion. S. v. n. 1184. |
| Bee, ΑΤ | Mion. S. v. n. 1185. |
| Bee, ΕΥΛ | Mion. S. v. n. 1186. |
| Bee, ΚΥΕ | Brit. Mus. |
| Bee, ΑΡ | Brit. Mus. |

Of the above monograms two, viz. ΔΙ and ⋔, are identical with two of those which occur on the Alexandrine tetradrachms of Class VI. struck at Ephesus (*v. supra*, p. 140). This shows that the same officials signed both kinds of money, and that, consequently, if the Alexandrine and the Philetaerian tetradrachms are not contemporary, they must be nearly so. The coinage with the types of Alexander was probably replaced in the year B.C. 189, when Ephesus was presented by the Romans to Eumenes, by the tetradrachms bearing the portrait of Philetaerus, the founder of the dynasty of the Attalids.

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Under one of the kings of this dynasty the famous cistophori made their first appearance as the principal circulating medium of Western Asia Minor.

It is probable that the fall of Rhodes, B.C. 167, and the sudden collapse during the next few years, circ. 167—160, of the Rhodian commerce (v. Herzberg, Geschichte Griechenlands, i. 206), may have suggested to Eumenes II. the endeavour to supply the place of the Rhodian currency in Asia Minor by the issue of a new coinage on the Rhodian standard at all the chief cities in his dominions; a sort of Pan-Asiatic coinage, which, like the contemporary money of the Achæan League in Peloponnesus, should be uniform in type, the local mint-marks and magistrates' symbols being in every case mere subordinate adjuncts. In this undertaking the King of Pergamus was, we may believe, supported by the Romans, who were at this precise time engaged in a strenuous endeavour to suppress in every direction the Rhodian trade by the erection of Delos into a free port under Athenian administration, as well as by the

reopening (B.C. 158) of the Macedonian silver mines and the encouragement of the issue in vast quantities of the regional tetradrachms of Macedonia Prima, Secunda, &c.

Whether the Roman capitalists of Asia took any direct part in this financial scheme for the creation of a uniform Asiatic currency cannot, however, be proved.

It seems, nevertheless, to be almost certain, judging from the number of varieties known, that the coinage of the cistophori commenced about B.C. 159, perhaps on the occasion of the accession of Attalus II.

The whole question of this coinage has been so thoroughly investigated by Pinder ("Ueber die Cistophoren," 1856) that I need not dwell upon it here, further than to give a list of all the specimens with which I am acquainted, struck at Ephesus. Among them will be found several varieties not known to Pinder.

### (ε) Undated Cistophori of Ephesus. B.C. 159—133.

*Tetradrachm.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cista mystica with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues; the whole in wreath of ivy. | Two coiled serpents with heads erect, between them a bow-case. |

*Didrachm and Drachm.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Club and lion's skin of Herakles; the whole within wreath, sometimes of ivy or vine, sometimes of laurel. | Bunch of grapes, placed upon a vine-leaf. |

| WEIGHT. | IN FIELD, LEFT. | IN CENTRE. | IN FIELD, RIGHT. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. 4 dr. | Head of Helios. | | ΕΦΕ. Pinder 15; Vienna. |
| 2. „ | ΕΦΕ | | Nike with wreath. P. 16; Dumersan. |
| 3. „ | „ | | Forepart of stag r. P. 17; Mion. S. vi. 259, 271. |
| 4. „ | „ | | Quiver. P. 18; Mion. iii. n. 193. |
| 5. „ 182 grs. | „ | | Statue of Ephesian Artemis. P. 19; Brit. Mus. |
| 6. „ 195·5 grs. | „ [Pl. IV. 11.] | | B and head of Ephesian Artemis wearing lofty head-dress. P. 20; Mion. iii. n. 194. |
| 7. „ 193·7 grs. | „ Star | | Branch of laurel filleted. P. 21; Brit. Mus. |
| 8. „ | „ Bee | | Cista, with serpent. P. 22. |
| 9. dr. | „ „ | | „ „ „ P. 56; Berlin. |
| 10. 4 dr. | „ A | Bee. | Double Cornucopiæ, above which K. P. 23; Mion. iii. n. 196. |
| 11. „ | „ K | Stag. | Bust of Greek Artemis. Ivanoff sale, n. 126. |
| 12. „ 193·9 grs. | „ „ | | Bust of Greek Artemis. Brit. Mus.; Mion. iii. n. 195. |
| 13. „ 188 grs. | „ | | Artemis slaying stag. Brit. Mus. |
| 14. „ 187·5 grs. | „ | | Bow and quiver. Brit. Mus. |
| 15. 2 dr. 91·5 grs. | Bow and quiver. [Pl. IV. 12.] | | ΕΦΕ. Brit. Mus. |
| 16. „ 91·2 grs. | „ (?) | | „ ? Brit. Mus. |
| 17. dr. | ΕΦΕ | | A. Pinder, 57; Berlin; Fox collection. |
| 18. dr. 47·3 grs. | ΕΦ [Pl. IV. 13.] | | Bee in wreath. Brit. Mus. |

Supposing the above-described fifteen or more varieties to bear the symbols of annual magistrates, like the dated coins which follow, they may very probably be the coinage of the twenty-five years between B.C. 159 and 133.

During the period, therefore, of sixty-nine years between circ. B.C. 202 and 133, the following classes of coins were issued at the Ephesian Mint:—

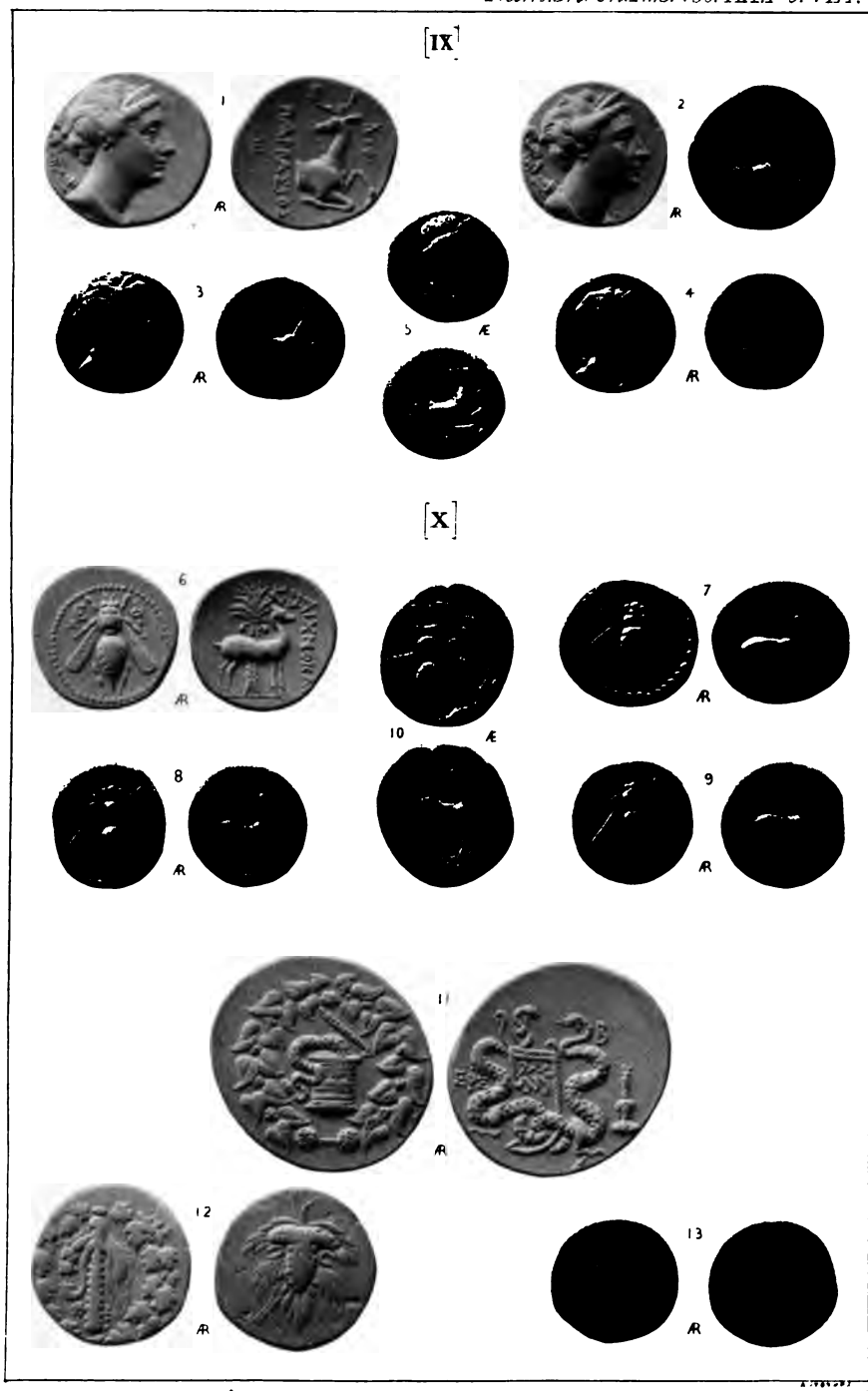
(*a*) Attic drachms and copper. *Obv.* Bee. *Rev.* Stag and palm-tree, with the names of the Eponymi, issued during the entire period (cf. the contemporary dated money of Aradus). See p. 141.

(β) Tetradrachms with the types of Alexander, Class V. of Müller, issued between circ. 202 and 196 (cf. also Alexandrine money of Aradus). See p. 139.

(γ) Tetradrachms with the types of Alexander, Class VI. of Müller, issued between circ. B.C. 196 and 189 (cf. also Alexandrine money of Aradus). See p. 140.

(δ) Tetradrachms with the types of Philetaerus, issued between B.C. 189 and 159. See p. 144.

(ε) Cistophori (undated) tetradrachms, didrachms, and drachms of Rhodian weight, issued between B.C. 159 and 133. See p. 146.




EPHESUS PLATE IV—PERIODS IX—X.

## Period XI. B.C. 133—67.

In B.C. 133 the Roman people succeeded to the inheritance of Attalus III. of Pergamus, and Western Asia Minor became a Roman province.

Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, by an Ephesian hetaira, nevertheless made a hard struggle to obtain for himself his father's kingdom, which he claimed as his lawful inheritance.

Among the towns which refused to recognise Aristonicus was Ephesus, which remained throughout faithful to the Roman cause.

From the year B.C. 133 onwards the cistophori of Ephesus bear dates referring to the era of the constitution of the province (24 Sept. 134). They are also to be distinguished from the earlier cistophori by the adjunct symbol, a long flaming torch in the field to the right of the serpents on the reverse.

The following is a list of the cistophori struck between B.C. 133 and 67 :—

(a) Dated Cistophori. B.C. 133—67.

| DATE, B.C. | WEIGHT. | IN FIELD, LEFT. | IN CENTRE. | IN FIELD, RIGHT. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 133 | 4 dr. | ΕΦΕ A | Bee | Long torch | Pinder, 25; Mion. S. vi. 260. |
| „ | 2 dr. | Torch | „ | ΕΦΕ A | Cat. Pericles Exereunetes, n. 215. |
| 132 | 4 dr. | ΕΦΕ B | „ | Long torch | P. 26; Mion. S. vi. n. 261 and 272. |

| DATE, B.C. | WEIGHT. | IN FIELD, LEFT. | | IN CENTRE. | IN FIELD, RIGHT. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 131 | 4 dr. | ΕΦΕ | Γ | Bee | Long torch | Pinder, 27. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | Nothing | „ | Brit. Mus. |
| 130 | „ | „ | | Δ | „ | P. 28; Vienna. |
| 129 | 4 dr. 194 grs. | „ | | E | „ | University, Aberdeen; Hüber, n. 568. |
| 127 | 4 dr. 193 grs. | „ | Z | Ephes. Artemis | „ | Brit. Mus. |
| 126 | 4 dr. | „ | H | Stag | „ | P. 29. |
| 125 | „ | „ | Θ | Ephes. Artemis | „ | Ivanoff, n. 129; Bunbury. |
| 124 | „ | „ | I | Star | „ | Ivanoff, n. 128. |
| 121 | „ | „ | IΓ | ? | „ | P. 30; Berlin (Prokesch-Osten). |
| 118 | „ | „ | Iτ | Cornucopiæ | „ | P. 31. |
| 117 | „ | „ | IZ | Bunch of grapes | „ | Whittall, n. 368. |
| 113 | „ | „ | KΛΦ | Hat of Dioscurus, with star above | „ | P. 32; Vatican. |
| „ | 2 dr. | [ΕΦ]Ε | | | Hat of Dioscurus with star above. | P. 55; Vienna. |
| 112 | 4 dr. | ΕΦΕ | BK | Lyre | Long torch | Whittall, n. 368. |
| 100 | „ | „ | ΛΔ | Tripod | „ | P. 33; Brit. Mus.; Mion. iii. n. 197. |
| 94 | „ | „ | M | Candelabrum | „ | Brit. Mus. [Pl. V. 1.] |
| 91 | „ | „ | MΓ | Headdress of Isis | „ | P. 34. |
| 90 | „ | „ | MΔ | Tripod ? or fulmen ? ? | „ | P. 35; Mion. iii. n. 198. |
| 89 | „ | „ | ME | Staff of Asklepios | „ | P. 36; Mion. iii. n. 199. |
| 88 | „ | „ | Mτ | Headdress of Isis | „ | P. 37; Mion. S. vi. n. 262. |
| 87 | „ | „ | MZ | Trident | „ | Brit. Mus., weight 193·8 grs. |
| 86 | „ | „ | MH | Head of Isis | „ | P. 38; Mion. iii. n. 200. |
| 85 | „ | „ | MΘ | Nike with wreath | „ | P. 40; Brit. Mus., 195·2 grs. |
| 83 | „ | „ | NA | Hermes with caduceus | „ | P. 41; Brit. Mus. |
| 82 | „ | „ | NB | Headdress of Isis | „ | P. 42; Brit. Mus., 193 grs. |
| 81 | „ | „ | NΓ | Quiver | „ | P. 43; Brit. Mus., 196·2 grs. |
| 80 | „ | „ | NΔ | Two cornucopiæ | „ | Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2761. |
| 79 | „ | „ | NE | Greek Artemis | „ | Whittall, 369; Northwick, 1055. |
| 77 | „ | „ | NZ | Priapus | „ | P. 44; Mion. S. vi. 266. |

| DATE, B.C. | WEIGHT. | IN FIELD, LEFT. | IN CENTRE. | IN FIELD, RIGHT. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 71 | 4 dr. | ΕΦΕ ΞΓ | Two cornucopiæ, between which ear of corn | Long torch | Pinder, 45. |
| " | " | " " | Two cornucopiæ, between, palm | " | P. 46; Vienna. |
| 70 | " | " ΞΔ | Crater with cover | " | Brit. Mus., 192 grs. |
| 69 | " | " ΞΕ | Two cornucopiæ, between which ear of corn surmounted by headdress of Isis | " | P. 49; Mion. S. vi. n. 267. |
| " | " | " " | Head of Medusa | " | Brit. Mus., 182 grs. |
| 68 | " | " Ξϛ | Two cornucopiæ, between which ear of corn surmounted by headdress of Isis | " | Cf. P. 50; Brit. Mus., 183·4 grs. |
| " | " | " " | Two cornucopiæ, between, palm | " | P. 51; Brit. Mus. 187 grs. |
| 67 | " | " ΞΖ | Two cornucopiæ, between, ear of corn without headdress of Isis | " | P. 53; Mion. iii. n. 202. |
| " | " | " " | Two cornucopiæ, between, palm | " | P. 54; Brit. Mus., 189 grs. |

Ephesus was now the chief city of the Roman province of Asia, and the usual residence of the Roman governor. Now for the first time did Asia taste the full blessings of the much-lauded Roman rule. "Not only," says Mommsen (Hist. Rom. bk. iv. chap. i.) "was free scope allowed with criminal indulgence to the unscrupulous greed of the Roman merchant in the provincial administration, but even the commercial rivals who were disagreeable to him were cleared away by the armies of the State, and the most glorious cities of neighbouring lands were sacrificed, not to the barbarous lust of power, but to the far more horrible barbarism of speculation."

The Roman rule of the provinces consisted, in two words, of systematized plunder in the cities and of man-

hunting and slave-driving in the country districts. No species of property was safe from confiscation. "Every stalk of corn grew for the Roman *decumanus*, and every child of free parents seemed born for the Roman slave-drivers" (Mommsen, *l. c.* chap. viii.).

Can we wonder, then, that when the formidable Mithradates appeared, B.C. 88, in Western Asia Minor, and that when he appealed to the national sympathies of the people, the whole country rose as one man against Rome, proclaiming Mithradates as "the delivering god." The hour of vengeance was come at last, and from Ephesus Mithradates sent forth orders to all the cities dependent on him to put to death on one and the same day every Roman within their districts. It is said that eighty thousand, according to Appian, or, according to Plutarch, one hundred and fifty thousand Romans were thus massacred in Asia Minor. The people of Ephesus did not even spare those who fled to the altar of their goddess for protection.

From B.C. 87—84 Ephesus, although nominally for part of the time belonging to Mithradates, was *de facto* a free city, and to this interval must be attributed the gold money bearing on the reverse the figure of the Ephesian Artemis, by the issue of which Ephesus proclaimed to the world her complete independence and autonomy, the coinage of gold being then considered everywhere as a symbol and prerogative of supreme power.

We are surprised, nevertheless, to remark that the issue of the cistophori, dated according to the era of the Roman province of Asia, is not interrupted by the revolt from Rome, but continues in one almost unbroken series down to the year B.C. 67, after which a change takes place, the name of the Roman Proconsul appearing after

that date upon the coinage. The following are the gold coins which belong to the period of the Revolt, B.C. 87—84:—

GOLD COINAGE OF THE TIME OF MITHRADATES. B.C. 87—84.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *N.* 4. Wt. 131 grs. (Mion. iii. n. 151, Paris.) [Pl. V. 2.] | Bust draped of Artemis wearing stephane, right; bow and quiver at shoulder. | ΕΦ—Ε—ΣΙ—ΩΝ. Statue of Ephesian Artemis, a fillet hanging from each hand; in field, left, stag, right, bee. |
| 2. *N.* 4. Wt. 132 grs. (Waddington collection, also Friedländer, K. Münzkab, 219.) [Pl. V. 3.] | Similar. | Ε—Φ. Similar. |
| 3. *N.* 4. Wt. 133 grs. (Dupré, 289.) [Pl. V. 4.] | Similar. | Ε—Φ. Similar type, but in field, left, tripod, right, Β. |
| 4. *N.* 5. Wt. 127 grs. (Friedländer, *l.c.* n. 220.) [Pl. V. 5.] | Similar. | Ε—Φ. Similar type; in field right, small figure of Artemis huntress. |
| 5. *N.* 4. Wt. 132 grs. (Berlin, Prok.-Osten.) [Pl. V. 6.] | Similar. | Ε—Φ. Similar type in field left, stag right. |
| 6. *N.* 5. Wt. 132 grs. (Imhoof-Blumer.) | Similar. | Ε—Φ. Similar type. No symbols. |
| 7. *N.* 3. Wt. 84·3 grs. (Thomas sale, 2,132.) | Similar. | No inscription. Similar type; in field right, stag, left, bee. |

Of the above-described gold coins, the last differs from those which precede both in weight and in the fact that it does not bear the name of the *Ephesian people.*

Hence Mommsen (Mon. Rom., ed. Blacas, vol. ii. p. 444) supposes that it may have been issued by Sulla when he came to Ephesus in B.C. 84, and explains its unusual weight as being $\frac{1}{60}$th of the Roman pound, and exactly the half of the ordinary aurei bearing the name of Sulla (Mommsen, *l. c.* p. 440, sqq.), which may or may not have been issued at Ephesus, but which seem to

have been certainly intended to circulate in the Eastern Provinces.

During Sulla's stay in Ephesus it is said that he punished no one with death, but was satisfied with imposing a heavy fine upon the city. After his departure Lucullus remained behind as Proquæstor to exact the fines imposed by Sulla. In B.C. 74 he was elected Consul, and subsequently he was appointed to the command in Asia against Mithradates. The government of Lucullus, according to Plutarch, was extremely popular, for he appears to have relieved the people from many of the burdens under which they had so long been groaning—the Roman tax-farmer and usurer. Lucullus was in his turn superseded by Pompeius in B.C. 66, who, in virtue of the Gabinian and Manilian laws, obtained unlimited power in Asia, together with the rights of a Proconsul.

## Period XII. B.C. 67—48.

Between B.C. 67 and 58 no coins of Ephesus are known, and when they recommence in the latter year a change is noticeable in the reverse. A symbol is generally substituted for the bow-case between the serpents, and henceforth the cistophori bear the name of the Proconsul of Asia in the Roman character, and that of a civic magistrate in Greek letters.

This modification in the coinage took place, there can be no doubt, on the occasion of the reorganization of the Asiatic provinces begun by Lucullus and completed by Pompeius after the death of Mithradates in B.C. 63.

In this reorganization the policy of the Romans was to conciliate the urban communities as being no less the centres of Western civilisation and commerce than bulwarks against the flood of Oriental barbarism.

An indication, perhaps, of this policy of wise consideration for ancient civic rights, combined, however, be it observed, with a more distinct assertion of Roman supremacy, may be seen on the Proconsular cistophori of Ephesus, B.C. 58—48, on which, for the first time since the constitution of the Province of Asia, in B.C. 133, the name of the responsible magistrate in Greek characters reappears.

Of this class the following specimens are known:—

PROCONSULAR CISTOPHORI. B.C. 58—48.

*T. Ampius, T. F. Balbus.*

| | |
|---|---|
| B.C. 58. ΕΦΕ ΟΣ.[21] [Brit. Mus. 185·8 grs.] [Pl. V. 7.] | T. AMPI. T. F. PRO COS. Between serpents, tripod, on which a statue of the Ephesian Artemis; in field right, long torch, and beneath, ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ. |
| B.C. 58—57. ΕΦΕ ΟΖ. [Pinder, 177.] | T. AMPI. T. F. PRO COS. Between serpents, Apollo standing on tripod; in field right, long torch, and beneath, ΓΛΥΚΩΝΤΙΔ.. ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ. |
| B.C. 58—57. ΕΦΕ ΟΖ. [Pinder, 178.] | Same, but beneath, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ .....ΥΙ..... |
| B.C. 58—57. ΕΦΕ ΟΖ. [Brit. Mus., 191 grs.; Pinder, 179.] [Pl. V. 8.] | Same, but beneath ΕΡΜΙΑΣ ΚΛΙΥΣΤΡΙ[ΟΥ]. |

*C. Fabius, M. F. [Hadrianus].*

| | |
|---|---|
| B.C. 57. ΕΦΕ ΟΖ. [Brit. Mus., 189·5 grs.; Pinder, 175.] | C. FABI. M. F. PRO COS. Between serpents and standing upon bow-case a figure of the Greek Artemis, carrying bow, arrow, and quiver; in field left, long torch; beneath ΚΝΩΣΟΣ. |

The name of the Proconsul who succeeded C. Fabius is not known.

*C. Claudius, Ap. F. Pulcher.*

| | |
|---|---|
| B.C. 55—54 (?). ΕΦΕ Π (?). [Berlin; Fox collection.] | C. PVLCHRI. AP. F. PRO COS. Between serpents usual bow-case; in field right, long torch; beneath, ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ. |

[21] The date on this hitherto unpublished cistophorus proves that T. Ampius succeeded Q. Cicero as Proconsul of Asia in B.C. 58, and that C. Fabius did not succeed to the Proconsulship till B.C. 57. The accepted order is thus reversed. See Waddington, "Fastes des Prov. Asiatiques," p. 58.

Q. Minutius Thermus, B.C. 51, the next Proconsul whose name we know, has left us no coins.

From B.C. 50—49 the province of Asia was left without a Proconsul in consequence of the breaking out of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompeius. During this year L. Antonius remained as Quæstor in Asia, and by his authority were issued in all likelihood the anonymous cistophori, only signed with the letter Q for Quæstor, and with the monogram ΑΤΑ.

*L. Antonius, M. F. Proquæstor.*

| | |
|---|---|
| B.C. 50—49. [Brit. Mus., 188 grs.; Pinder, 202.] [Pl. V. 9.] | In field left, Q, above bow-case ΑΤΑ; in field right, long torch. |

*C. Fannius, Prætor.*

| | |
|---|---|
| B.C. 48. ΕΦΕ ΠΣ. [Brit. Mus., 179·7 and 181·2 grs.; 2 specimens.] | C. FAN. PONT. PR. In field left, figure of Greek Artemis (?); in centre, tetrastyle temple, surmounted by armed (?) figure; in field right, long torch; beneath, ΑΡΧΙΔΗΜΟϹ. |

*Date and name of Proconsul wanting.*

| | |
|---|---|
| ΕΦΕ. [Mion. iii. n. 204.] | ..... PRO COS. Between serpents, bow-case; in field right, long torch; beneath, ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ. |

It is worthy of remark that the symbol between the serpents cannot belong, as Pinder supposes, to the Proconsul. This is proved by the coin of B.C. 58, which has a tripod surmounted by the Ephesian Artemis, while that of the following year, B.C. 57, although bearing the name

of the same Proconsul, has a tripod surmounted by Apollo. Neither can it refer to the civic magistrate whose name stands in the exergue of the coins of B.C. 57, for in this one year the name of this official is changed as many as four times.

The symbol in question may perfectly well, however, stand in the place of the name of another but an *annual* magistrate.

From the occurrence of as many as four names on the coins of the year B.C. 58—57 which differ from all other names on the autonomous coins of Ephesus, inasmuch as they are provided with a patronymic, it may be inferred that during the Proconsulship of T. Ampius the duty of superintending the coinage was temporarily transferred to a magistrate of inferior rank, whose term of office was probably quarterly.

With the Proconsulship of C. Fabius the ancient order of things appears to have been restored, the Eponymous annual magistrate once more signing the coinage without a patronymic.

## Period XIII. B.C. 48—27.

The coinage of the Proconsular cistophori at Ephesus ceased during the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompeius, B.C. 48, and does not appear to have been resumed. After his victory at Pharsalia, Cæsar visited Ephesus, and introduced many excellent reforms into the constitution of the province, among which not the least beneficial was the abolition of the system of farming the revenues. A few years afterwards the Ephesians embraced the cause of Brutus and Cassius (B.C. 44), but when Antonius arrived at Ephesus in B.C. 41 he fined them heavily for having chosen the wrong side in the struggle for supremacy. The cistophori of Antonius, though probably struck at Ephesus, bear no mint-marks, and in any case belong rather to the series of the Imperial coins than to that of the autonomous.

There remain, therefore, to be described only the copper coins which belong to the period of the latest cistophori, or of the intervening time between the first civil war and the accession of Augustus.

Of these the following are the principal varieties:—

### Copper Coinage. Circ. B.C. 48—27.

| | |
|---|---|
| Æ. 6. Bust of Artemis right, draped and wearing stephane; at her shoulder bow and quiver. [Brit. Mus.] | E—Φ. Forepart of stag right, looking back; behind, long torch; in field, Α; beneath, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟϹ. |

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Imhoof-Blumer.] — Similar, but in field Θ; beneath, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ.

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Mion. iii. n. 210.] — Similar, but in field ΜΕ, and beneath, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ.

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Brit. Mus.] [Pl. V. 10.] — Similar; no letter in field; beneath, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟC.

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Brit. Mus.] — Similar; in field Θ; beneath, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ.

Æ. 4½. Bust of Artemis right, draped, wearing stephane; at her shoulder bow and quiver. [Brit. Mus.] [Pl. V. 11.] — Ε—Φ. Long torch between two stags face to face; above, ΔΗΜΗ ΤΡΙΟΣ; in field, ΚΩ ΚΟΣ; in ex. ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ.

Æ. 4½. Ε—Φ. Head of Artemis right, wearing stephane; the whole in wreath of laurel leaves and berries. [Mion. iii. 209.] — Stag standing right; in field above, ΦΙΛΩΝ.

Æ. 4. Bee in wreath of laurel. [Mion. iii. n. 216.] — Stag standing right; in its mouth a fillet; behind, a torch; in ex. ΙΑΣΩΝ.

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Mion. S. vi. n. 286.] — Similar.

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Mion. S. vi. n. 287.] — Similar, but in field Π and Ϝ; in ex. ΜΕΝΑΝ[ΔΡΟΣ].

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Imhoof-Blumer.] — Similar; behind stag, torch; in front, ear of corn; in ex. ΑΙΝΗΑΣ.

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Sestini, Mus. Hederv. ii. p. 163.] — Ε—Φ. Stag standing, head turned back; behind it a torch; across field in three lines, ΔΙΟ ΝΥ ΣΙΑΔΑΣ.

Æ. 2½. Ε—Φ. Similar. [Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,767.] — Stag standing right, head turned back; behind it a torch; magistrate's name, ΠΥΘΩΝ.

Æ. 3. Ε—Φ. Similar. [Imhoof-Blumer.] — Stag standing right, head turned back; behind it a long torch; in field left, ΝΤ, right, Α.

Æ. 2. Ε—Φ. Bee. [Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,766.] — Stag standing right; in field, .....ΤΙΩΣ.

Æ. 2. Ε—Φ. Bee. [Mion. S. vi. n. 283.] — Forepart of stag right, head turned back; in the field a torch and ...ΤΟΥΚΡΑ.

EPHESUS PLATE V — PERIODS XI–XIII.

Æ. 5. Ε—Φ. Bee in wreath of laurel. [Mion. S. vi. n. 304.]

Æ. 6. Ε—Φ. Artemis huntress, with bow and quiver, advancing to right, dog running beside her; border of dots. [Brit. Mus.] [Pl. V. 12.]

Æ. 3. Ε—ΦΕ. Cock right, with palm on wing; above ΓΡΑ. [Cf. Mion. S. v. 552, 370, Dardanus.]

Æ. 2½. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ. Crescent and star. [Sestini, Mus. Hederv. ii. Pl. 19, 3.]

Stag standing right; in field two monograms; above, in two lines, ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ.

Cock right, with palm-branch on which a wreath, across left wing; in ex. ΙΑΣΩΝ; the whole in wreath of laurel-leaves and berries.

Stag standing right; in field, Λ? ΑΡΧ? ΛΥΣ?

ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. Stag standing right; beneath in field, ΤΟ Μ Γ; above stag, ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ.

The last-described coin may be compared with Mion. Sup. vi. No. 310 of Augustus, reading ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟC ΑΝΤ[ΙΟ]ΧΟΥ.

The name of a high-priest, ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ, likewise occurs on early Imperial coins; cf. with the coin bearing this name described above, coins of Augustus and Livia, and of Claudius and Agrippina, &c. &c. Mion. Sup. vi. Nos. 319, 327, and 329. These instances show that it is impossible to draw an exact line between the coins of Ephesus struck before the accession of Augustus and those issued after that date.

## Summary.

Before concluding, and with the view of throwing some light upon the question of the duration of the magistracy entrusted with the care of the coinage at Ephesus, it will be useful to set down in a tabular form the results at which I have arrived:—

| | | Years. | Names. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Period I. B.C. 700—480. | From the earliest times to the Persian Wars. | | |
| Period II. B.C. 480—415. | Athenian Supremacy. | 65 | |
| Period III. B.C. 415—394. | Persian and Spartan Supremacies. | | |
| | Tissaphernes—Lysander 407 } 11 yrs.<br>Agesilaus . . . . . 396 } | 21 | 8 |
| Period IV. B.C. 394—387. | Democracy. Conon and Pharnabazus. | | |
| | Alliance with Rhodes, Samos, and Cnidus. | 7 | 5 |
| Period V. B.C. 387—295. | 387—334. Generally a tyranny. | | |
| | 334—295. Democracy instituted by Alexander. | 92 | 87 |
| Period VI. B.C. 295—288. | Oligarchy. Lysimachus. | 7 (?) | 7 |
| Period VII. B.C. 288—280. | Oligarchy. Name changed to Arsinoë. | 8 (?) | 8(?) |
| Period VIII. B.C. 280—258. | Under the Seleucidæ. | 22 | 18 |
| Period IX. B.C. 258—202. | Under the Ptolemies. | 56 | 41 |
| Period X. B.C. 202—133. | B.C. 202—196. Autonomous?<br>B.C. 196—189. Under Antiochus III.<br>B.C. 189—133. Under the Attalids. } | 69 | 64 |
| B.C. 133. | Asia as a Roman Province. | | |
| | Total | | 238 |

It thus appears that during the period of 274 years which elapsed between the arrival of Lysander at Ephesus in B.C. 407 and the constitution of the Roman

province of Asia in B.C. 133 we have 238 magistrates' names.

The question next naturally arises, was or was not the office of moneyer an annual one?

If annual it follows that our lists are nearly complete, and that not more than about forty names remain to be discovered.

If, on the other hand, this magistracy was renewed once every six months or oftener, we must continue to expect that a great many more names will be discovered than we now know of. In any case, as the number of names in each period is proportionate to its length, the chronological sequence of the coinage would remain unaffected, and this after all is the main point at issue.

It seems to me that the question of the duration of the term of office of the magistrate who signs these coins can only be settled by comparing with the coins of Ephesus the dated coinage of some other city of equal commercial importance during an extended term of years, in order to ascertain what proportion of the entire coinage is likely to have been preserved to our times. If we take the dated cistophori of Ephesus itself between B.C. 133 and 67, we find that out of 66 dates only 32 have come down to us on the coins, and during the 10 years B.C. 58—48, 5 dates only have reached us. But it must be borne in mind that the cistophori were issued at many mints in Asia Minor, and possibly in a kind of rotation.

On the other hand, in the case of Aradus, a city of which the coinage is better adapted than that of any other for a comparison with the money of Ephesus, I find that between B.C. 170 and 142, a period of 28 years, as many as 22 dated coins are known to me, 20 in the British Museum alone; and again in the next period,

B.C. 136—108, in a space of 29 years there are 25 coins bearing different dates, of which 21 are in the British Museum; and in the coinage of the same city, between B.C. 98 and 60, a period of 38 years, there are coins of 28 different years in the British Museum alone, without counting those in other cabinets.

If, then, we compare with the table of Ephesian coins the following table of the coinage of Aradus, I think that on the whole it must be confessed that the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of the theory that our Ephesian lists are also nearly complete and that the term of office of the magistrate whose name appears on the autonomous coinage of Ephesus was an *annual* one.

ARADUS.

| | Years. | Dates on Coins. |
|---|---|---|
| B.C. 170—142 | 28 | 22 |
| B.C. 136—108 | 29 | 25 |
| B.C. 98— 60 | 38 | 28 |

## Conclusion.

Assuming, therefore, as I think I am warranted in doing, that the names on the coins of autonomous Ephesus are those of annual magistrates, it remains to be seen whether it is possible to determine what was the exact title of the magistrate in question.

C. Curtius (Hermes, iv. p. 225) supposes with Guhl the magistrate's name on these coins to have been that of the first Archon; but is there any trustworthy documentary evidence for the office of Archons at Ephesus at all? for the inscription cited by Guhl and Curtius (*l.c.*), viz. Boeckh, C. I. G. 2953[b], has been lately restored by M. Homolle (Bulletin de Corr. Hell., Tom. ii. p. 333) to the treasury of the temple of Apollo at Delos. It has therefore really nothing whatever to do with Ephesus.

On the other hand, F. Lenormant (La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité, iii. p. 129) is inclined to infer from the occurrence of the name ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ on late autonomous copper coins, and from the recurrence of the same name on early Imperial coins followed by the title ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ, that it was the high-priest of Artemis, the Megabyzus, whose name appears on all the previous autonomous coins of the city. But here again I would remark that in the first place there is no evidence that the Cusinios of the time of Augustus and Claudius is the same person as the Cusinios of the autonomous coin, and in the second place, granting this to be the case, that it seems in the highest degree

improbable that the Megabyzi were changed annually, as from the number of extant names on the coins they must have been if M. Lenormant's hypothesis is to be accepted.[22]

My own opinion is that the magistrate who places his name on the currency in autonomous times is the first Prytanis, the regular Eponymus for state documents at Ephesus.[23] Aristotle (Polit. vi. 5) informs us that the duties of these magistrates (καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις) consisted "in the general care of all such public sacrifices as the law does not commit to the priests, but which concern the honour of that god who is the protector of the city. The necessary cares, therefore, about these things are, as I may say summarily, concerning religion, war, taxes, expenditures, markets, the city, the harbours, and the highways, and further still, concerning things pertaining to courts of justice, the enrolment of contracts, executions, imprisonments, inquests, calling the magistrates to account for their conduct, and lastly concerning those who are to give their advice in public affairs."

Prytaneis such as these described by Aristotle must not be confounded with the Prytaneis of the Athenian constitution, who were indeed not magistrates at all properly so called.

The duties of the first Prytanis at Ephesus may have

[22] It does not seem clear that the title ἀρχιερεύς was applied solely or even primarily to the Megabyzus in Imperial times. Cusinios may very probably have been ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν.

[23] The Prytanis appears to have been the Eponymus at other towns also; cf., for example, the Cistophori of Pergamus, and Imperial coins of Cyme in Æolis (Mion. iii. p. 10, Sup. vi. p. 16), of Stratonicea in Caria (M. iii. p. 379, Sup. vi. p. 538), of Attuda in Phrygia (M. S. vii. p. 519), and of Synnada in Phrygia (M. iv, p. 369, S. vii. p. 623).

been analogous to those of the Archon Eponymus at Athens.

Now I believe that I can bring forward sufficient positive evidence to prove it to have been at any rate the general rule at Ephesus for the first Prytanis to place his name upon the coinage of the State.

In the important Ephesian legal document published in Wood's "Ephesus" (Inscriptions from the city and suburbs, No. 1) there occur the names of four Prytaneis who are mentioned as the Eponymi of four successive years. These are—

(i.) ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ.
(ii.) ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ.
(iii.) ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ.
(iv.) ΔΑΝΑΟΣ.

Mr. Hicks informs me that he has been led to assign the inscription in question and the complications it deals with to the disorders which probably followed the edict of Alexander for the recall of the exiles, *i.e.*, B.C. 324—319.

Turning now to my list of names for Period V., B.C. 387—301, I there find the names—

ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΗΣ,
ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ,
ΔΑΝΑΟΣ,

but no ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ. Sooner or later the coins struck "in the year of Apollas" will probably be discovered.

The next strong point in favour of my theory is the following:—In an inscription of Ephesus published by Le Bas and Waddington, No. 136, and there attributed, on account of the forms of the letters and the verbose style of the document, to the first century B.C., mention

| I. | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Ἰάσων | 48— 27 |
| Ἰδομενεὺς | 258—202 |
| *Ἱπνώτης | 387—301 |
| *Ἵππινος | 394—387 |
| Ἱππόκριτος | 387—301 |
| Ἱπποσθένης | 305—295 |

| K. | |
|---|---|
| Καλλιμένης | 295—288 |
| *Καλλιξένης | 202—133 |
| Καλλισθένης | 202—133 |
| Καλλίστρατος | 258—202 |
| Κάρνωψ | 387—301 |
| Καῦστριος | 387—301 |
| Καῦστριος | 258—202 |
| Κλεανδρίδης | 387—301 |
| Κλεόνικος | 387—301 |
| Κλυτίος | 387—301 |
| Κνῶσος | 57 |
| Κόμης | 387—301 |
| Κορύλας | 407—394 |
| Κορύλας | 280—258 |
| Κουσίνιος | 48— 27 |
| Κυρραλίας | 202—133 |
| Κῶκος | 48— 27 |

| Λ. | |
|---|---|
| Λαμπρίας | 202—133 |
| Λιμναῖος | 258—202 |
| Λίχας | 202—133 |
| Λυκίσκος | 387—301 |
| Λύκων | 387—301 |

| M. | |
|---|---|
| *Μαντικράτης | 324—319 |
| Ματίλλας | 202—133 |
| Μεγακλῆς | 387—301 |
| Μεγαλήτωρ | 280—258 |
| *Μελαγγρίδας | 387—301 |
| Μελαινεύς | 288—280 |
| Μελανκόμας | 202—133 |
| Μένανδρος | 48— 27 |
| Μενεκλῆς | 54 |
| Μενεσθεύς | 407—394 |
| Μενέσιππος | 387—301 |
| Μένιππος | 387—301 |
| Μέντωρ | 407—394 |
| Μηνοφάνης | 202—133 |
| Μηνόφιλος | 43 |
| Μήστωρ | 387—301 |
| Μητρᾶς | 387—301 |
| Μητρᾶς | 202—133 |
| Μητρόδωρος | 202—133 |
| Μητροφάνης | 258—202 |
| Μινήας ? | 202—133 |
| Μίννος | 258—202 |
| Μνήσαρχος | 387—301 |
| Μνησίφιλος | 387—301 |
| Μοιραγένης | 202—133 |
| Μοιραγόρας | 387—301 |
| Μόλπος | 202—133 |
| *Μύτας | 258—202 |

| N. | |
|---|---|
| Ναυκράτης | 258—202 |
| Νικήρατος | 387—301 |
| Νικίας | 258—202 |
| Νικόλοχος | 202—133 |
| Νικόμαχος | 258—202 |

| Ξ. | |
|---|---|
| Ξάνθι(ππος ?) | 280—258 |
| Ξενοκλῆς | 387—301 |

| O. | |
|---|---|
| Οἰωνός | 280—258 |
| Ὀλυμπιόδωρος | 387—301 |
| Ὀλύνπιχος | 387—301 |
| *Ὀρχαμένιος | 387—301 |

| Π. | |
|---|---|
| Παλαι..... ? | 288—280 |
| Παναίτιος | 387—301 |
| Παρθένιος | 387—301 |
| Παρμενίσκος | 202—133 |
| Παρράσιος | 258—202 |
| Παυσανίας | 202—133 |
| Πελάγων | 387—301 |
| *Περιάλθης ? | 394—387 |
| Περικλῆς (Γλυκωντίδ...) | 57 |

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Περίστρατος | 387—301 |
| Πλάτων | 258—202 |
| Πλάτων | 202—133 |
| Πολυδάμας | 387—301 |
| Πολυκλῆς | 387—301 |
| Πολυκράτης | 407—394 |
| Πολυξην | 387—301 |
| Πρωταγόρας | 258—202 |
| Πρωτίων | 258—202 |
| Πρύτανις | 387—301 |
| Πυθαγόρης | 387—301 |
| Πυθαγόρας | 258—202 |
| Πύθων | 42— 27 |
| **Ρ.** | |
| Ῥοδίων | 202—133 |
| **Σ.** | |
| *Σαττίων | 407—394 |
| Σάτυρος | 202—133 |
| Σκίρων | 387—301 |
| Σκοπάδης | 258—202 |
| Σόλων | 280—258 |
| Σώβιος | 387—301 |
| Σώπατρος | 48— 27 |
| Σωσικράτης | 280—258 |
| Σῶσις | 258—202 |
| Σῶσις | 202—133 |
| Σώτας | 202—133 |
| **Τ.** | |
| Ταυρέας | 202—133 |
| Τελεσίας | 258—202 |
| *Τηλέστρας | 387—301 |
| Τιμαγόρας | 288—280 |
| Τιμάνθης | 202—133 |
| Τίμαρχος | 407—394 |
| Τιμεσιάναξ | 407—394 |
| Τιμόστρατος Πολεμάρχου | 58 |
| **Υ.** | |
| Ὕλακος | 301—295 |
| **Φ.** | |
| Φαναγόρης | 387—301 |
| Φέραιος | 387—301 |
| Φίλιππος | 258—202 |
| Φιλιστίων | 202—133 |
| Φιλίτης | 387—301 |
| Φιλόστρατος | 305—295 |
| Φιλόφρων | 288—280 |
| Φίλων | 48— 27 |
| Φιλώτας | 202—133 |
| *Φύρτας | 387—301 |
| **Χ.** | |
| Χαιρίτης | 387—301 |
| Χαλκιδεύς | 202—133 |
| Χαρμῖνος | 295—288 |
| Χαροπῖνος | 258—202 |
| Χίμαρος | 305—295 |
| **Incomplete.** | |
| Πε | 394—387 |
| ριάλθης | 394—387 |
| ....κλες? | 387—301 |
| ....ίλοχος? | 387—301 |
| ....ιστος | 387—301 |
| ..ερ..ευ | 295—288 |
| ..αγηρο | 288—280 |
| ....τριος | 280—258 |
| ..τουκρα | 48— 27 |
| ....τιως | 48— 27 |

Barclay V. Head.

British Museum.

## VIII.

### THE IRON MONEY OF THE JAPANESE.

As requested by our President at the last meeting, I now draw attention to the iron money of the Japanese, specimens of which will be given to the Society, as illustrative of this notice.

We all know that iron, in bars, was used by the Lacedaemonians and Byzantines as money, probably on account of its abundance in Laconia and on the shores of the Euxine. The inconvenience of iron as a monetary medium in Sparta is obvious, when the value of £20 sterling would require for its conveyance a cart with two oxen to draw it.

Aristotle mentions iron as a material for money, and adds that the people of Clazomenae—a city in Ionia—had iron money, and according to Suidas iron money was used in the earliest age of Rome.

Dufresnoy says iron was so used in Britain, and it would appear from Caesar's Commentaries that the aboriginal currency was circumscribed to rude rods of iron and brass. Caesar's words are, "Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis." (De Bello Gallico, book v., chap. xii.)

It may be worth mentioning that some 1800 years after the invasion of Julius Caesar, iron was still used as currency in our land, according to Adam Smith. In his "Wealth of Nations," the fourth chapter, "Of the Origin and Use of Money," he tells us, "There is a village in

Scotland where it is not uncommon, I am told, for a workman to carry nails, as money, to the baker's shop and to the alehouse."

Owing to the rapid oxidization of iron, or mayhap to its ready convertibility into swords and ploughshares, there is, I believe, no survival or specimen extant of the Iron Money of the Ancients.

It seems to me not unlikely that iron, when used as currency by the Greeks and Romans, was not coined, but simply rings, rods, or bars of a specified weight like those circulated—as Mungo Park tells us—by the Mandingoes, each bar passing as the equivalent of two shillings. If so, to the Japanese would be accorded the credit of having first, mayhap exclusively, utilised iron as a current coin, specimens of which I now submit and present to the Society.

These iron coins were issued (as I was told when in Japan last year) by a Shogun of the Tokugawa family, vulgarly called a Tycoon, and often incorrectly ranked in Europe as the Secular Emperor of Japan.

The reverse of these coins, like those of the Chinese—from which they are copied—is blank. The obverse bears the impressed Chinese characters, "Ching Yung Tung Pau," which means the current money of Yung the Prosperous.

A Japanese bronze coin bears a similar inscription. Its form and characters were adopted by the Japanese. It is said to have had its origin in China at the beginning of the Chan dynasty, about 1120 years before the Christian era.

It should be mentioned that the Chinese language is the learned (or classical) language of Japan, Corea, Mongolia, Thibet, and adjacent countries—hence used

for the superscription of coins in the East as Latin is in the West.

"*Tung tseen*" (copper money) with "*Tung Pau*" (current money), impressed with the name of the emperor reigning when it is issued, is still officially the only current coin of the Chinese—the Land Tax and other Imperial or Provincial taxes being exigible in that coin.

This money is said to consist of 8 parts of copper and 4 parts of lead; although zinc and sometimes iron is substituted for lead. Each of these Chinese units of value should be the 384th part of a "*Kin*" (Catty)—*id est*, one and one-third of an English pound weight.

The present low value of these iron coins will be recognised when I add that the twenty pieces now exhibited are equal in value to that of the one bronze coin annexed to them—its newly minted equivalent. It is said to be the smallest modern coin issued. The value of both is one "*Rin*,"—a mil, or thousandth part of the "*Yen*," or silver dollar of Japan.

Small as is now the value of these iron coins—each about one hundredth part of a farthing—still, at times, a gherkin, a few pea-nuts, and other articles were, I was told, obtainable in exchange for one piece of this iron money. From my own observation I should infer that these coins are now used, almost exclusively, for the giving of alms and making offerings to the gods.

In the vicinity of Osaka I found in the gardens of some Buddhist temples a particular tree, generally an exotic, thickly covered at its foot with oxidized masses of these iron coins, the offerings of pious pilgrims and occasional visitors.

JAMES WHITE.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band VII., Heft 1 and 2, contains the following articles:—

1. Imhoof-Blumer. "Greek Coins in the Carlsruhe Cabinet."
2. M. Fränkel. "On the Coins of Ptolemais in Pamphylia."
3. O. Blau. "Mithridates Callinicus and Mithridates Philopator of Armenia."
4. A. D. Mordtmann. "Supplementary Notes on Persepolitan Coins."
5. A. Löbbecke. "Inedited Greek Coins in his own Collection."
6. A. Klügmann. "On Inscriptions on Roman Republican Denarii."
7. H. Grote. "On a Coin of Duke Henry I. struck in Eimbeck."
8. H. Grote. "On the Incompatibility of Contemporaneous Bracteates and Denarii of the same Locality."
9. H. Dannenberg. "A Reply to Grote's Article."
10. R. Weil. "On Coins of Elis with the Zeus of Phidias."
11. R. Weil. "On the Digamma on Coins of Elis."
12. R. Weil. "Notice of Imhoof-Blumer's 'Coinage of Acarnania.'"
13. Ad. Erman. "On the Carnitz Find of Arabic Coins."
14. Ad. Erman. "On an Unpublished Ortokite Coin of حسام الدين
15. Ad. Erman. "On the Coins of the Padishah Khatun, wife of the Ilkhanian Kaikhatu, 1291—1296."
16. A. von Sallet. "On the Names of the Two First Gordians (Sempronius, Romanus, Africanus)."
17. H. Dannenberg. "On the Jarocin Find of Mediæval Denarii."
18. H. Dannenberg. "On the Teschenbusch Find."
19. H. Dannenberg. "On the Second Find of Bracteates at Jessen."
20. J. Friedlaender. "A Painting and a Medal." In this paper Dr. Friedlaender identifies the well-known portrait by Mantegna in the Berlin Gallery which goes by the name of Matteo Bosso as in reality a portrait of Cardinal Mezzarota, Patriarch of Aquileia, 1444, and this by means of a medal which bears his

is made of a certain Badromios as the eponymous Prytanis of Ephesus, "ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις τοῖς μετὰ Βαδρόμιον Πρύτανιν."

Now Badromios as the name of a man is entirely unknown, save and except only on a coin of Ephesus struck according to my arrangement in Period X. between B.C. 202 and 133. Can any one doubt for a moment that the **ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ** of the coin is the same man as the Prytanis of that name mentioned in the contemporary inscription?

Finally, there is one more coincidence in names which, not less striking than the preceding, is of much value as a piece of additional and cumulative evidence. Josephus (Ant. Jud. xiv. 10, 25), or the Hellenistic Jew who has made additions to Book xiv. in his name, in that portion of his narrative in which he pauses to enumerate the decrees of various Asiatic cities in favour of Hyrcanus II. (B.C. 47—40) who had petitioned through his ambassadors that the Jews residing in the several cities might be exempted from military service, cites a decree of the Ephesians, dated B.C. 43, when M. Junius Brutus was Proconsul,[24] which begins with the words Ἐπὶ Πρυτανέως Μηνοφίλου.

Here again, on referring to my list of coins struck after B.C. 48, we find a copper coin with the magistrate's name **ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ**, who was therefore Prytanis in B.C. 43—42.[25]

We have thus in all the names of no less than five

[24] The MSS. of this passage give the reading Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Πομπηίῳ υἱῷ Βρούτου. The correct reading has been restored by Bergmann ("Philologus," 1847, p. 687) to Μάρκῳ Ἰουνίῳ Μάρκου υἱῷ Βρούτῳ.

[25] The name of Artemon, the Prytanis of Ephesus, who preceded Menophilus, has also been recorded by Josephus (xiv. 10, 11, 12). He must have held office in B.C. 43, but no coins are at present known bearing his name. See Waddington, "Fastes des Prov. Asiatiques," p. 72.

eponymous πρυτάνεις of Ephesus mentioned in inscriptions of different periods, which occur also on coins of the very same periods to which the inscriptions belong.

The several points, therefore, which I have striven in the previous pages to establish, and not, I trust, altogether without success, are—

1st. The approximate *chronological sequence* of the coinage of Ephesus from the earliest times to the establishment of the Empire.

2nd. That the magistrate whose name appears regularly on the coinage is an *annual magistrate.*

3rd. That this annual magistrate was the *first Prytanis,* who at Ephesus was the President of the Committee of Prytaneis entrusted with the execution of the decrees of the Boule and Demos, and who is thus proved to have been, at any rate from the year B.C. 407 down to the age of Augustus, the *Eponymus* of the city.

## Alphabetical List of the Eponymous Prytaneis of Ephesus,

With their approximate dates.

[N.B.—The names to which an asterisk is prefixed are not to be found in Pape's "Wörterbuch, d. Gr. Eigennamen," 3rd edition, 1870.]

### A.

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Ἀγήνωρ | 280—258 |
| Ἀθηναγόρας | 202—133 |
| Ἀθήναιος | 295—288 |
| *Ἀθηνόμανδρος | 387—301 |
| *Ἀθηνοπολίτης | 258—202 |
| Αἰγύπτιος | 202—133 |
| Αἰνέας | 387—301 |
| Αἰνείας | 202—133 |
| *Αἰνήας | 202—138 |
| *Αἰνήας | 48— 27 |
| Αἰσχρίων | 202—133 |
| Αἰχμοκλῆς | 202—133 |
| Ἀλέξανδρος | 258—202 |
| Ἀλκείδης | 387—301 |
| *Ἀλκιππος | 387—301 |
| *Ἀλκιππος | 280—258 |
| Ἀνδροίτας | 387—301 |
| Ἀνδρόμαχος | 202—133 |
| Ἀνδρόφορβος | 305—295 |
| Ἀντιαλκίδας | 305—295 |
| Ἀντίγονος | 258—202 |
| Ἀντικράτης | 387—301 |
| *Ἀντιμήδης | 202—133 |
| Ἀντίοχος | 48— 27 |
| Ἀντίφιλος | 202—133 |
| Ἀντιφῶν | 280—258 |
| Ἀπελλῆς | 202—133 |
| Ἀπόλλας [Inscr.] | 324—319 |
| Ἀπόλλας | 202—133 |
| Ἀπολλόδωρος | 295—288 |
| Ἀπολλωνίδης | 288—280 |
| Ἀπολλων(ίδης) | 280—258 |
| Ἀπολλωνίδης | 202—133 |
| Ἀρισταγόρας | 387—301 |
| Ἀρισταγόρης | 387—301 |
| Ἀρισταῖος | 288—280 |
| Ἀριστέας | 202—133 |
| Ἀριστόδημος | 387—301 |
| Ἀριστοκράτης | 258—202 |
| Ἀριστολέων | 387—301 |
| Ἀριστόλεως | 394—387 |
| Ἀριστόλοχος | 387—301 |
| Ἀριστοφῶν | 258—202 |
| Ἀριστοφῶν | 202—133 |
| Ἀρίστρατος | 258—202 |
| Ἀρκάς | 202—133 |
| Ἀρτεμίδωρος | 258—202 |
| Ἀρτεμίδωρος | 202—133 |
| Ἀρτέμων | 387—301 |
| Ἀρτέμων | 202—133 |
| Ἀρτέμων [Josephus] | 43 |
| Ἀρχέλοχος | 387—301 |
| Ἀρχίδαμος | 387—301 |
| Ἀρχίδημος | 48 |
| *Ἀστροπίδης | 202—133 |
| Ἀτρέας | 280—258 |
| Αὐτομέδων | 202—133 |

B

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Βαδρόμιος | 202—133 |
| *Βάττας | 258—202 |
| Βιάνωρ | 202—133 |
| *Βοίωτος | 387—301 |

Γ

| | |
|---|---|
| Γονεύς | 288—280 |
| Γοργώπας | 387—301 |
| *Γρύλις | 258—202 |
| Γύλιππος | 305—295 |

Δ

| | |
|---|---|
| Δαναός | 324—319 |
| Δαναός | 202—133 |
| Δημαγόρης | 324—319 |
| Δήμαρχος | 202—133 |
| Δημήτριος | 258—202 |
| Δημήτριος | 202—133 |
| Δημήτριος | 48— 27 |
| Δημοκλῆς | 387—301 |
| Δημοκλῆς | 202—133 |
| Δημοκρατίδης | 202—133 |
| Δημοφῶν | 280—258 |
| Δημοφῶν | 258—202 |
| Διαδ..... | 280—258 |
| Δίαιτος | 258—202 |
| Δίας | 301—295 |
| Διοδωρίδης | 407—394 |
| Διόδωρος | 258—202 |
| Διονυσιάδης | 48— 27 |
| Διονύσιος | 258—202 |
| Διονύσιος [...υι...] | 57 |
| Διονυσόδωρος | 202—133 |
| Διοσκουρίδης | 258—202 |
| Διότιμος | 387—301 |
| *Δόκκαλος | 301—295 |
| Δροπίδης | 202—133 |

E.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ἐγκαίριος | 387—301 |
| Ἑκαταῖος | 258—202 |
| Ἑκατοκλῆς | 301—295 |
| Ἐοέλθων | 280—258 |
| *Ἐοπαθίδης | 387—301 |
| *Ἐόχωρος | 387—301 |

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Ἐπίγονος | 387—301 |
| ...ερ...ευ... | 295—288 |
| Ἐρξίας | 295—288 |
| Ἑρμίας | 202—133 |
| Ἑρμίας (Καιυστρίου) | 57 |
| Ἕρμων | 258—202 |
| Ἑρμώναξ | 258—202 |
| Εὐκλῆς | 202—133 |
| Εὔκριτος | 202—133 |
| Εὔκτιτος | 387—301 |
| Εὔνικος | 258—202 |
| Εὔνους | 202—133 |
| Εὔπολις | 202—133 |
| *Εὔπολος | 280—258 |
| Ἐχεάναξ | 295—288 |
| Ἐχέδαμος | 280—258 |

Η.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ηήνης | 387—301 |
| Ηηνόδοτος | 387—301 |
| Ηηνόδοτος | 258—202 |
| Ηηνόδοτος | 202—133 |
| Ηωβίτας | 387—301 |
| *Ηώης | 202—133 |
| Ηωίλος | 387—301 |
| Ηώπυρος | 202—133 |

H.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ἡγεκλῆς | 387—301 |
| Ἡγέλοχος | 387—301 |
| Ἡγέλοχος | 280—258 |
| Ἡγήσανδρος | 288—280 |
| Ἡγησιάναξ | 387—301 |
| Ἡρακλείδης | 202—133 |
| Ἡρόδοτος | 202—133 |

Θ.

| | |
|---|---|
| Θεο..... | 387—301 |
| Θεόδωρος | 394—387 |
| Θεόφιλος | 288—280 |
| Θερσίλοχος | 258—202 |
| Θρασέας | 202—133 |
| Θρασύλοχος | 387—301 |
| Θρασυμήδης | 387—301 |

profile, unmistakably the same head as the portrait by Mantegna.

21. J. Friedlaender. "A Messapian Coin."

22. H. Grote. "On a Groschen of Hesse with Sword and Cap."

23. M. Schmidt. "On the Lübeck Find of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Silver Coins."

Band VII., Heft 3, contains the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender. "The Acquisitions of the Royal Coin Cabinet of Berlin, April, 1878—April, 1879." Among the 697 Greek coins which Berlin has acquired during the year, by far the most important is the very remarkable Attic tetradrachm of Æneia in Macedon, on the obverse of which Æneas and Creusa are represented making their escape from Troy, and carrying on their shoulders Anchises and Ascanius. This coin is of the sixth century B.C. Another unique Macedonian tetradrachm is that of the town of Sermyle, the type of which is a naked horseman galloping to the right, wielding a spear. Beneath the horse is a dog running. Highly interesting and likewise unique is a silver stater of Cnossus in Crete, having on the obverse King Minos seated on his throne, and on the reverse a head of Demeter within a labyrinthine pattern. On the whole it appears that the Berlin Cabinet has been more fortunate of late than the British Museum, probably because its learned director has a more liberal grant at his disposal.

2. A. Missong. "On the meaning of the Letters which precede OB (= 72 to the pound) on Roman Gold Coins." These letters are O (= 70 to the pound) between A.D. 286 and 290, and Ξ (= 60 to the pound) between A.D. 290 and 312, in which year the standard of the gold coin was fixed at 72 to the pound.

3. A. von Sallet. "The Successors of Alexander in Bactria and India. Supplement."

4. F. von Duhn. "On the Cittanuova Find of about six hundred Archaic Greek Coins of Southern Italy." There is strong reason to suppose that this treasure was buried between B.C. 510 and 494. It is of great value as furnishing a chronological *datum* for the exact time of the cessation of the incuse reverses on the coins of Metapontum, Croton, Poseidonia, and other towns.

5. F. von Duhn. "On a Find of Gold Staters of Alexander the Great, Philip Aridæus, and Ptolemy Soter in Calabria."

Band VII., Heft 4, contains the following articles:—

1. Ad. Erman. "On the Cattenes (near Coblenz) Find of Roman Imperial Coins. Valerian to Aurelian."

2. Ad. Erman. "Marius and Victorinus."

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Περίστρατος . . . | 387—301 |
| Πλάτων . . . . | 258—202 |
| Πλάτων. . . . . | 202—133 |
| Πολυδάμας . . . | 387—301 |
| Πολυκλῆς . . . . | 387—301 |
| Πολυκράτης . . . | 407—394 |
| Πολυξην . . . . . | 387—301 |
| Πρωταγόρας . . . | 258—202 |
| Πρωτίων . . . . | 258—202 |
| Πρύτανις . . . . | 387—301 |
| Πυθαγόρης . . . | 387—301 |
| Πυθαγόρας . . . | 258—202 |
| Πύθων . . . . . | 42— 27 |
| **Ρ.** | |
| Ῥοδίων . . . . . | 202—133 |
| **Σ.** | |
| *Σαττίων . . . . | 407—394 |
| Σάτυρος . . . . | 202—133 |
| Σκίρων . . . . . | 387—301 |
| Σκοπάδης . . . . | 258—202 |
| Σόλων . . . . . | 280—258 |
| Σώβιος . . . . . | 387—301 |
| Σώπατρος . . . . | 48— 27 |
| Σωσικράτης . . . | 280—258 |
| Σῶσις . . . . . | 258—202 |
| Σῶσις . . . . . | 202—133 |
| Σώτας . . . . . | 202—133 |
| **Τ.** | |
| Ταυρέας . . . . | 202—133 |
| Τελεσίας . . . . | 258—202 |
| *Τηλέστρας . . . | 387—301 |
| Τιμαγόρας . . . . | 288—280 |
| Τιμάνθης . . . . | 202—133 |
| Τίμαρχος . . . . | 407—394 |

| | B.C. |
|---|---|
| Τιμεσιάναξ . . . | 407—394 |
| Τιμόστρατος Πολεμάρχου . . . . | 58 |
| **Υ.** | |
| Ὕλακος . . . . | 301—295 |
| **Φ.** | |
| Φαναγόρης . . . | 387—301 |
| Φέραιος . . . . | 387—301 |
| Φίλιππος . . . . | 258—202 |
| Φιλιστίων . . . . | 202—133 |
| Φιλίτης . . . . . | 387—301 |
| Φιλόστρατος . . . | 305—295 |
| Φιλόφρων . . . . | 288—280 |
| Φίλων . . . . . | 48— 27 |
| Φιλώτας . . . . | 202—133 |
| *Φύρτας . . . . | 387—301 |
| **Χ.** | |
| Χαιρίτης . . . . | 387—301 |
| Χαλκιδεύς . . . . | 202—133 |
| Χαρμῖνος . . . . | 295—288 |
| Χαροπῖνος . . . . | 258—202 |
| Χίμαρος . . . . | 305—295 |
| **Incomplete.** | |
| Πε. . . . . | 394—387 |
| ριάλθης . . . | 394—387 |
| . . . . κλες? . . . . | 387—301 |
| . . . . ίλοχος? . . . | 387—301 |
| . . . . ιστος . . . . | 387—301 |
| . . ερ . . ευ . . . . . | 295—288 |
| . . αγηρο . . . . . | 288—280 |
| . . . . τριος . . . . | 280—258 |
| . . τουκρα . . . . . | 48— 27 |
| . . . . τιως . . . . | 48— 27 |

Barclay V. Head.

British Museum.

## VIII.

### THE IRON MONEY OF THE JAPANESE.

As requested by our President at the last meeting, I now draw attention to the iron money of the Japanese, specimens of which will be given to the Society, as illustrative of this notice.

We all know that iron, in bars, was used by the Lacedaemonians and Byzantines as money, probably on account of its abundance in Laconia and on the shores of the Euxine. The inconvenience of iron as a monetary medium in Sparta is obvious, when the value of £20 sterling would require for its conveyance a cart with two oxen to draw it.

Aristotle mentions iron as a material for money, and adds that the people of Clazomenae—a city in Ionia—had iron money, and according to Suidas iron money was used in the earliest age of Rome.

Dufresnoy says iron was so used in Britain, and it would appear from Caesar's Commentaries that the aboriginal currency was circumscribed to rude rods of iron and brass. Caesar's words are, "Utuntur aut ære aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis." (De Bello Gallico, book v., chap. xii.)

It may be worth mentioning that some 1800 years after the invasion of Julius Caesar, iron was still used as currency in our land, according to Adam Smith. In his "Wealth of Nations," the fourth chapter, "Of the Origin and Use of Money," he tells us, "There is a village in

Scotland where it is not uncommon, I am told, for a workman to carry nails, as money, to the baker's shop and to the alehouse."

Owing to the rapid oxidization of iron, or mayhap to its ready convertibility into swords and ploughshares, there is, I believe, no survival or specimen extant of the Iron Money of the Ancients.

It seems to me not unlikely that iron, when used as currency by the Greeks and Romans, was not coined, but simply rings, rods, or bars of a specified weight like those circulated—as Mungo Park tells us—by the Mandingoes, each bar passing as the equivalent of two shillings. If so, to the Japanese would be accorded the credit of having first, mayhap exclusively, utilised iron as a current coin, specimens of which I now submit and present to the Society.

These iron coins were issued (as I was told when in Japan last year) by a Shogun of the Tokugawa family, vulgarly called a Tycoon, and often incorrectly ranked in Europe as the Secular Emperor of Japan.

The reverse of these coins, like those of the Chinese—from which they are copied—is blank. The obverse bears the impressed Chinese characters, "Ching Yung Tung Pau," which means the current money of Yung the Prosperous.

A Japanese bronze coin bears a similar inscription. Its form and characters were adopted by the Japanese. It is said to have had its origin in China at the beginning of the Chan dynasty, about 1120 years before the Christian era.

It should be mentioned that the Chinese language is the learned (or classical) language of Japan, Corea, Mongolia, Thibet, and adjacent countries—hence used

and maintain a civilisation which borrows some elements from each of the coalescing nationalities.

From the first the coinage of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks has a character of its own. The portraits of kings which it exhibits are marked by an excessive naturalism. The deities who have their place in it are few in number, and seem to have been chosen because they have counterparts in the Indian Pantheon. In the inscriptions there is something quite local; for instance, the participle βασιλεύων takes from time to time the place of the noun βασιλεύς, and titles unknown in the rest of the Greek world are applied to the kings, such as δικαιός, the equivalent of the Indian dhramika.

Among the peculiarities of Indian numismatics is the introduction of medals struck in commemoration of departed worthies. It is often stated that the medal was unknown to the Greeks.[1] And even the Indo-Greek medals were of the exact weight of the usual coins, and probably passed current, though issued in but small numbers. These coin-medals were struck first in the beginning of the second century B.C. by three contemporary kings, Eucratides, Antimachus, and Agathocles. The following specimens were already published by General Cunningham, "Num. Chron.," vol. ix., Plate VI., and vol. viii., Pl. IX. (cf. Von Sallet, Nachfolger Alexanders, p. 15).

EUCRATIDES.

1. *Obv.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ. Helmeted head of the King.

*Rev.*—ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ. Male and female heads right, jugate, presumably those of the father and mother of Eucratides.

[1] We may, however, consider some of the gold pieces of the Ptolemaic series as medals, especially those with the inscriptions θεοί—ἀδελφοί.

ANTIMACHUS.

2. *Obv.*—ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Head of Diodotus.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. Zeus thundering; eagle at his feet.

AGATHOCLES.

3. *Obv.*—ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. Head of Euthydemus.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Herakles seated.

4. *Obv.*—ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Head of Diodotus.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Zeus thundering; eagle at his feet.

5. *Obv.*—ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Head of Antiochus.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Zeus thundering; eagle at his feet.

These pieces are of the utmost importance for the restoration of Bactrian history. Unfortunately their evidence is capable of being variously read. Thus in the absence of historical record it has been disputed whether the coin of Eucratides was issued in honour of his father and mother, or in honour of the marriage of his son Heliocles, who succeeded him, with Laodice, whom Von Sallet conjectures to have been a princess of Syrian descent, and perhaps a grand-daughter of Antiochus the Great.

So also there has been a considerable controversy as to the character of the pieces issued by Antimachus and Agathocles. General Cunningham[2] and Mr. Thomas[3] supposed that these two princes were subject, when the

[2] "Coins of Alexander's Successors," p. 122.
[3] "Num. Chron.," N.S. ii. 186.

coins were minted, to the rulers whose heads appear on the obverse of them. They held the term βασιλεύοντος to imply a lower degree of power than would the term βασιλέως, a position, in fact, little superior to that of a satrap. Thus they supposed Antimachus to have been tributary at one time to Diodotus, and to have acknowledged him as supreme lord. Agathocles they supposed to have accepted the supremacy successively of Euthydemus, Diodotus, and an Antiochus of Syria, whom they naturally conjectured to have been Antiochus III., who conducted in the early part of his reign an expedition against the Kings of Bactria.[4]

This view was attacked recently by Dr. von Sallet, who started an entirely different theory. He held that the pieces of Agathocles were issued, not at various periods of his reign, but all at one time, and that they conveyed no acknowledgment of supremacy, but partook of the nature of medals, showing that he claimed as his predecessors in the kingdom Euthydemus, who supplanted the children of Diodotus, Diodotus, who had revolted against Antiochus II. of Syria, and Antiochus himself. All these kings Agathocles, after the manner of Syrian and Egyptian princes of the time, raised to the ranks of deities, or, at least, of heroes, and claimed their protection.

I have the good fortune to be able, by means of an unpublished coin which has lately arrived from the East and been purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, to throw an entirely new light on the controversy. And this new light shows that the trained numismatic sagacity of Von Sallet saw the truth of the matter. Our new coin is as follows (Pl. X. 1):—

[4] Polybius, Hist. x. Extr. 8.

*Obv.*—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Head of Herakles, or Alexander in that character, wearing lion's skin.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Zeus seated, holding eagle and sceptre; in the field monogram, ΚΡ. (Types of Alexander the Great.)

Tetradrachm; wt. 251·2 grs.

Now it is quite certain that as there were no Hellenic Kings of Bactria and India until about B.C. 250, Agathocles cannot have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great, or recognised him as supreme lord. In this case, then, the intention in issuing the coin can only have been to commemorate a great man recognised or claimed as a predecessor. And it is extremely probable that what is true in this case is true also in the rest. As Agathocles commemorates Alexander, so, it would seem, he commemorates Diodotus and Euthydemus. And so he commemorates Antiochus Nicator. Who Antiochus Nicator may be is, indeed, somewhat doubtful. None of the three first Antiochi of Syria bore that title. The first was surnamed Soter, the second Theos, and the third Megas. But as the first Seleucus was surnamed Nicator, and his son, the first Antiochus, was co-regent with him, it seems extremely probable that the title may have sometimes been transferred to the latter, and that he may be intended in the coinage of Agathocles. It was against Antiochus II. that Bactria and India revolted; it is, therefore, unlikely that he should have been in those regions held up to honour. Antiochus I., on the other hand, was obeyed throughout the Eastern regions which Alexander had conquered from the time when Seleucus made him his partner in the empire until his death.

It would appear, then, that of the three Bactrian kings who were ruling about the year 200 B.C., each issued a commemorative series of coins. Antimachus claimed as his hero Diodotus. Agathocles traced his political ancestry through Euthydemus, Diodotus, and Antiochus I. of Syria, to Alexander the Great. Eucratides, being of a different disposition, may have thought his own immediate parents sufficiently distinguished to claim commemoration on medals, and did not seek to affiliate himself to the great rulers of past generations.

I have assumed the date of these rulers to be as late as B.C. 200, and I certainly think that the fabric of their coins forbids the hypothesis of an earlier date. To Von Sallet belongs the merit of first indicating this; but now that attention has once been called to it, I incline to think that every instructed numismatist will cede the point. A comparison with contemporary coins of Syria and Asia Minor will make this clear.[5] It is of great interest to find at this date a piece issued which reproduces exactly the types of Alexander's own coins. It had already been conjectured by numismatists, Messrs. Six and Head for example, that certain classes of the coins minted in the name of Alexander, were really struck as late as 200 B.C. The coins in question are those called Class VI. by Dr. L. Müller in his excellent work on the coins of Alexander the Great, and are distinguished by the largeness of their diameter, the flatness of their relief, and the inferior quality of their art. They were issued, as is supposed, by various cities of the west coast of Asia Minor, about the time of the break-up of the rule of

[5] Von Sallet argues the question at length and in a very satisfactory manner. "Zeit. f. Num.," vi. 165, *sqq.*

Antiochus III., King of Syria. The cities which escaped from his yoke, scarcely venturing as yet to claim full autonomy or issue money in their own name, sheltered themselves behind the great name of Alexander, and struck coins in imitation of those which he issued in such abundance in all parts of his extensive dominions. Now, on comparing these coins with the piece issued by Agathocles we may find the closest likeness in style and fabric, a likeness of that sort which almost invariably indicates contemporaneity. Here again, then, we find a confirmation of the theories to which numismatists had been led by sound induction. We have now actual proof that the types of Alexander were not extinct in Asia in the beginning of the second century B.C., and the chain of the evidence for the date of Class VI. of Alexander's coins is much strengthened.

The inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ is worthy of attention. I know not whether this formula may occur elsewhere, but I cannot find it in the Corpus I. G. Alexander is usually either ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ merely. He is called ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ on a base at Athens, the authority for the existence of which is the Schedae Fourmonti,[6] and on a bust in the Louvre, where the characters are of very late date.[7] But it is to be observed that Alexander of Epirus, uncle of the great Macedonian, used on his own coins the perfectly parallel phrase ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ. It was specially in contradistinction from the son of Neoptolemus and from his own son that Alexander was called the son of Philip. It must be confessed that the simple patronymic as applied to

[6] C. I. G. No. 135. [7] C. I. G. No. 6,019.

Alexander the Great rather surprises us at a time when Euthydemus was called Theos, and Diodotus, Soter.

It is not easy to see the force of the genitive **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ**. When Eucratides puts the names of his father and his mother in the genitive, the matter is simple. We read the two faces of the coin together, *βασιλεὺς μέγας Εὐκρατίδης Ἡλιοκλέους καὶ Λαοδίκης*, and see that by the formula Eucratides merely asserts his origin. But we cannot suppose that Agathocles had the audacity to claim actual descent from Alexander, or put his name in the genitive to signify such origin. In this case we must take the phrase *Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου* by itself, and supply some word to make the meaning complete. What that word should be remains doubtful. Perhaps *ἱερόν*, "dedicated to," an adjective usually accompanied in inscriptions by the genitive case, will best supply the meaning. Or we might supply *νόμισμα*, to indicate that the coin of this issue belonged in a special manner to Alexander.

The inscription on our coin seems further to confirm an opinion now very general among numismatists that the head in lion's skin is intended on the coins of Alexander's successors for Alexander himself in the character of Herakles. If we consider that the coins of this series which bear the names of Euthydemus, Diodotus, and Antiochus, also present us with portraits of those princes, it will appear likely that this which bears the name of Alexander will also present his portrait. And, in fact, it is undeniable that soon after Alexander's death, the coin which bears his name, and is struck with the type of the head of Herakles, does begin to show an attempt to assimilate it to the well-known likeness of the great Macedonian. Poor as is the style of our coin, we may

see in it an endeavour to portray the deep-set eye, the enthusiastic expression, of Alexander.

## II.—Coins of the Early Seleucidae.

1. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles in lion's skin.

*Rev.*—ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Zeus Aëtophoros seated; in field monograms (see Plate).

Tetradrachm. Wt. 263·8 grs. (Pl. X. 2.) (Types of Alexander the Great.)

2. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus right, laur.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Pallas to right, fighting in biga drawn by elephants; above, Δ in circle.

Drachm. Wt. 53·2. (Pl. X. 3.)

So far as I know the only memorial of the joint reigns of Seleucus and Antiochus as yet published is the tetradrachm already described by me in the pages of the Chronicle.[8] In that coin the legend was incomplete, only the letters ΒΑΣΙΛΕ being visible, so that it remained doubtful whether the word intended had been βασιλέως or βασιλέων. This doubt is now set at rest. The variety in the order of the legend in the two coins now published is remarkable. It is to be observed that the epithet βασιλέως belongs only to Seleucus, while the name of Antiochus stands by itself. Taken together, the two forms of legend seem to me to imply that when the coins were issued Seleucus was recognised as sole king, but

[8] XIX. p. 10, Pl. I. 4.

Antiochus was considered to be his vicegerent or satrap. I do not think that the option now remains to us which I mentioned in my previous paper, that, namely, of taking the word Ἀντιόχου as a patronymic, and supposing it to refer to the father of Seleucus I., whose name was, as we know, Antiochus. We might read thus the words βασιλέως Σελεύκου Ἀντιόχου, but when Ἀντιόχου comes first this is impossible. We seem then, in our coins, to have clear evidence of the assumption of Antiochus as colleague by his father, but at the same time proof that he did not assume the kingly title until the beginning of his sole reign on his father's death in B.C. 280. I cannot fix the mint-place of these coins, but it is probably in the far East, where Antiochus ruled as his father's representative.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Antiochus I. diademed.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [Α]ΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Horned head of horse to right, bridled; below, ΑΒΙΔ; in front, Δ in circle.

Tetradrachm. Wt. 256·2. (Pl. X. 4.)

The letter Δ in this case seems to stand for the mint. What meaning, then, have the letters ΑΒΙΔ? It seems probable that they are the beginning of the name of some satrap or semi-independent ruler of a district in Bactria or the Paropamisus. The horned horse's head, as I have before remarked,[9] seems to be a type belonging specially to those regions. But I cannot find in the historians mention of any satrap whose name begins with Abid. Possibly some quite different interpretation may be the true one.

[9] See paper already cited.

SYRIAN AND BACTRIAN COINS.

## III. Imitations of Coins of Athens.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas, helmeted.

   *Rev.*—ΑΙΓ. Owl; behind, olive-twig and crescent.

   Tetradrachm. Wt. 260·2. (Pl. X. 5.)

2. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas; behind, bunch of grapes.

   *Rev.*—ΑΘΕ. Owl; behind, olive-twig and crescent, also object resembling caduceus without handle.

   Drachm. Wt. 53·5. (Pl. X. 6.)

These are both interesting specimens of the imitations of Athenian coins current in the far East about the time of Alexander. I imagine the letters ΑΙΓ on the larger coin to begin the name of a satrap, not of a city, for cities did not in those regions place their names on their coin. The symbol on the drachm, which resembles a caduceus without a handle, but which may more probably stand for the sign of the zodiacal Taurus, occurs elsewhere on Indian coins. It is found on the gold signet-ring of the Persepolitan King Pahasp, or Phahaspes, which has recently reached England. This drachm may have been issued by that king, or it may belong to some other potentate of North India or the neighbouring region. In style and weight it reminds us of the money of Sophytes ("Num. Chron.," 1866, p. 220).

Percy Gardner.

# X.

## CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE UNCERTAIN COINS OF THE CUERDALE FIND.

> "Sans doute, avec ce qu'on nomme de l'esprit, il est possible de tout soutenir et de tout contester; mais en l'histoire l'esprit n'est que l'art d'apercevoir la vérité ou de la faire ressortir."—VOLNEY, *Rech. nouv. sur l'Hist. anc.*, ii. p. 215.

THE earlier numismatists directed their attention rather to Roman coins than to those of mediæval times, which till a more recent period have claimed but little attention. This is not to be wondered at. The prevailing study of the classical authors made everything connected with the classical period highly interesting; and the Roman coins, found in most parts of Europe, were easy to be interpreted and easy to bring into accordance with the accounts of classical writers and classical history. The portrait of Cæsar, his names, titles, and correct date; the illustrative representation of remarkable historical events (JUDÆA CAPTA, &c.) were seen on the coins and appreciated by the archæologist and historian to such a degree that they were considered rather as historical medals than merely current coins.

This system was, naturally, afterwards applied to the study of mediæval coins, and thus occasioned a series of blunders and misunderstandings, which have confused many learned numismatists and deprived them of their peace of mind. When, for instance, they saw two busts

on a coin which evidently belonged to one and the same period, when but a single ruler is mentioned in history, they came to the conclusion that there in reality must have been two; history had forgotten the co-regent, but the coin recorded the fact! Whereas the truth is that, instead of either of the busts being a correct resemblance of the person whose name was stamped on the coin, the apparently double portraits were a mere type—Byzantine perhaps—imitated again and again for centuries. But this was incomprehensible to men accustomed to Roman coins, where every letter, every representation could be relied upon.

In the case mentioned history ought to be modified according to the coin. Sometimes the coins were modified so as to correspond with history, and we see, for instance, in Th. B. Bircherod (1701), a description of a coin of Sweyn, the Danish invader of England (1013), on which the king is represented with his split-beard.[1] As Sweyn exactly copied Ethelred's beardless types—an imitation of late Roman types—it is easily seen that Bircherod's coin was only invented to gratify the desire common among Roman numismatists of seeing history illustrated in coins.

Our modern students of mediæval numismatics have long since abjured all these errors. They know that illustrations of historical events are very seldom to be found on such coins. They know that coins should not be looked upon as medals, but as currency; and that the true foundation of all correct classification is to observe

[1] See Ruding, i. 375:—"Est mihi nummus argenteus hujus Regis (Sweyn) cujus unum latus Regem ostendit cum barba protensa et divisa quæ cognomen furcatæ barbæ ipsi addidit" (Th. B. B.).

the efforts made to make the coins acceptable in commerce.

Money is the representative of wares, and as the world is full of fraud, the public will prefer goods which have long since been in good repute, and they will seek for some marks indicating the best kinds. It is the same with coins; and in those old times certain well-known marks were usually sought for before taking a coin. This produced what is called in mediæval numismatics, "the imitation or filiation of the type," a condition of things which must be remembered when classifying unknown coins.

As to the English coinage, these remarks, though generally correct, require some slight modification. The English coins have always been highly esteemed and everywhere well received.[2] The reason was and is the invariable standard. Such depreciations as those known in France and other countries, and effected by the kings, were never known in England. I think it was because the people would not endure it. The saying of St. Dunstan, that false coins spoil the whole world, has never died out. There has always been in England, more than in any other country, something democratical about the coinage. The Merovingian system of putting the moneyer's name upon the coins ceased in France at the time of Charlemagne; for England I need only name

[2] Our sagas often speak of English pennies and what is done by them. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries English sterlings are often found in Danish documents as a standard for payments. So in "Script. Rer. Dan.," viii. 148:—"Dicti vero Abbas et conventus prædicto N. A. sexcentas et quadraginta marcas denariorum usualis monetæ Ripensis reddere promiserunt, ita quod quælibet marca denariorum valeat 'tres solidos legalium sterlingorum'" ("Act. Ripis. MCCLXVI.").

Robert de Hadeleye to indicate the end of the system. This putting on the coin a name, predominant like the king's, was no accidental custom, not a thing done now and some years after thrown aside. It was far more than a custom, it was an essential point in all coinage, as the moneyer's name was a warrant to the king from whom the moneyer had his right of coinage, and to the public too, who seeing a well-known name on the coin had the same feeling of security as that produced in our days by good names on a bill of exchange. This decentralisation of the coinage, these democratic institutions under the survey of the people, were the great pillars of the English coinage. When I, therefore, meet with a coin struck before the Edwards, and I do not find the moneyer's name upon it, I am always suspicious. There is also, and has always been in the English coins, a solidity and neatness in execution not seen in the Continental coinage easily perceived by collectors of miscellaneous mediæval coins. This superiority of the English coins led to much forgery, less practicable in England than on the Continent, where counterfeits of English coins were made, not to export to England, but to make them pass easily on the Continent itself as true English coins. Sometimes these coins came over to England mixed with other Continental coins, and so in the hoard of Cuerdale not a few Continental counterfeits with Alfred's name are to be found.

It is interesting to see that it was Alfred's monogram type that was chiefly imitated, by which the difficulty with moneyer's names was avoided.[3]

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[3] Hawkins, in his description of the Cuerdale find ("Num. Chron.," vol. v. Pl. II., gives some of these coins. No. 20, bearing BOLTEROT, which was so difficult for him to understand, is not a more uncommon name on the Continent, when

To classify these difficult counterfeit coins it is no help to refer to the place where they were found. I have often in well-known Danish mint towns inspected, in small private collections, the coins found on the site of the very town. On these occasions I have seldom met with coins struck in the town itself, but often with some from other places and from other countries, as coins are more likely to be found in places to which the exportation in former times was directed than at the spots where they were struck. For instance, we have not yet found in Denmark any piece of Sweyn (1017). M. Chalon of Brussels once wrote to me[4] that the old Belgian coins which are frequently found about the Baltic Sea, were never found in Belgium. I will not speak about early Danish finds of the eleventh century, in which the Danish coins are always outnumbered by German and English specimens. I see in the few descriptions I have of English finds, that they very often consist of purely English coins. Still, the circumstances of their concealment in general should be considered, and as we attribute the quantities of Æthelred's coins found in Denmark to the Danegeld, so it should be considered whether finds like that of Cuerdale might not have been buried under circumstances and at a

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read ROTBOLTE, than HERIBERT under the same circumstances on the coin published by Lindsay ("A View of the Coins of the Saxon Hept.," pl. iv. 94), which seems placed in a way in which it hardly can be a moneyer's name. So Rotbolt, named in "Ubb Emmii Hist. Rer. Fris.," lib. iv. pp. 55, 65, and lib. v. 81, 82, was such a little "princeps Frisiæ," that he well might have imitated English types. He fought in 896 against the Danes invading his land.

[4] "Les monnaies les plus anciennes de nos comtes et de nos ducs ont toujours été trouvées dans le Nord. Les Albert de Namur, les Renaud de Mons, &c., &c., n'ont jamais été rencontrés dans notre pays" (R. C.).

time when the presence of coins imported from France must have been quite a matter of course. When in the contemporary chronicles I read of the plunderings of convents, abbeys, and towns whose then coins are found in the hoard, when I remember the very active trade carried on by the Vikings with both England and France, and how they often sold in one country the booty they had carried off from the other, I should not be astonished to find in England on the coast a treasure consisting only of French coins of that period. Still, the fact that the Cuerdale hoard was found in Lancashire, has even here in Denmark contributed to establish the opinion that the enigmatical coins (Cunnetti, &c.) are Northumbrian, and that notwithstanding what we learn from the written description[5] of our own finds, which at various times as treasure trove have been delivered up to the royal collection of coins.

The Cuerdale coins concealed about A.D. 910 consist of French and English coins mixed up with some false coins, some Oriental, and a good number of "uncertain coins."

These uncertain coins have for type four different forms of crosses, and the monogram of Charles le Chauve, first known after the Edict of Pistes, 864. On the coins are different inscriptions to be seen. DN̄S DS REX. DNS D̄S O REX. These words are well known from the old Psalm, "GLORIA IN EXCELSIS."

DOMINE DEVS REX COELESTIS
DEVS PATER OMNIPOTENS.

The word REX is very often found on the coins, and a

[5] Of sixty-three finds known here and noticed from 1800—50 in the find protocol, twenty-five consisted only of foreign coins, twenty-four only of Danish coins, and fourteen were mixed.

distinction should be made if the meaning is religious or merely personal. The often seen "MIRABILIA FECIT"[6] is from the Bible. To believe that it is put on the coins to tell—as it would be on a Roman coin—that he who struck it did "wonderful things," would be very interesting, but is not admissible, religious inscriptions of that kind being too common on continental coins in this period. Of names of persons we see SIEFREDVS. This name is found in different countries, but it is found on these coins in a form which to me clearly proves them to be connected with the Danes, and this is to me the main point of the question—the form of SIEUERT, which is quite Danish, and comes down to our days. This Sievert is in many places styled king; still, on some of the coins (Hawkins' descript., Pl. VIII. No. 99, 100, 101, 103) a C is seen before the name for Comes (Cf. Num. Chron., vol. v., Pl. IV. 56).

This occurrence of the titles COMES and REX together is no contradiction, but a very interesting phenomenon to enable us to understand the man. Saint Olaf's Saga tells us that the young prince Olaf came down to the shore where the dragon-ships were lying waiting for him; when on board he took the helm, and immediately the crew hailed him king. On his return from the expedition he became merely a prince again. Abbo[7] Siefred's contemporary says—

SOLO REX VERBO SOCIIS TAMEN IMPERITABAT.

Amongst other inscriptions on the coins we see

[6] Daniel iii., or rather Ecclesiast. xxx. 6:—"Beatus est dives qui inventus est sine macula et qui post aurum non abiit, nec speravit in pecunia et thesauris. Quis est hic et laudabimus eum. *Fecit* enim *Mirabilia* in vita sua."

[7] Abbonis Mon: St. Germani de obsessa a Norm: Lutetia. Paris: Libri ii.

QUENTOVICI, a well-known mint-place in France, even mentioned in the Edict of the Pistes,[8] and an important station for commerce and intercourse[9] between England and France. This name of Quentovic is so important and so clear, that it is more than remarkable to see authors, treating of these coins, omit it or call the coins bearing it "barbarous imitations."

On many of these coins is seen the name EBRAICE CIVITAS.[10] As we find no moneyer's name—never find it—on the coins bearing this inscription, and the name of the town is written quite in the French way, it cannot be doubted that we have the name of an episcopal see—Evreux. To suppose names having but little likeness with Eboracum always to be York in England is not admissible, and above all when the moneyer's name never is found on the coin. The few St. Peters, St. Martin, and other pennies issued from churches have long been decided mostly to belong to York. I think that a careful examination should be made of these coins to see if they were all struck in England.[11] The ecclesiastical St. Edmund's coins bear all moneyers' names, mostly French,

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[8] "Sequentes consuetudinem prædecessorum nostrum sicut in illorum capitulis invenitur, constituimus ut in nullo loco alio in omni regno nostro moneta fiat nisi in palatio nostro et in Quentovico, ac Rotomago (quæ moneta ad Quentovicum ex antiqua consuetudine pertinet) et in Rhemis," &c., &c.

[9] Was the Calais of our days (Stenstrup, "Vikingetogene mod. Vest. i. ix. Aarh.," p. 41); was often captured by the Danes, 842-44, &c. Now the name has disappeared; Etaples, some miles south of Boulogne, has taken its place on the river Canche.

[10] On Merovingian coins, EBORO VICO, EBROCE CAST. Under Charles le Chauve, EBROICAS CIVITAS. Evreux was often in possession of the Danes—*vide* Le Brasseur, "Histoire civ. et eccl. du comté d'Evreux," 1772 (in the years 840, 870, 876, and 892-93).

[11] Langrès—LINGONIS and LINGOII might be taken for Lincoln.

except some few, and these have ERIACE CIV. This inscription is regarded as a strong proof as to how York in Latin was written in those times. I cannot believe that whilst all these St. Edmund's coins were struck after the English system, with the moneyer's name only, some very few should have been struck after the French, with only the name of the mint; by blunder, the moneyer must have made use of dies he had with him from France, or he has carelessly forgotten he was coining after a new system. That EBR on the later Anlafs coin should be shortened for EBRAICE more than for EBORACVM affords only a weak support.

As to the inscription CVNNETTI, CVNNETI, CVNNTI, &c., I think it the name of a mint, and as the word CIVITAS is not added, it was not the see of a bishop. I think it is written in the way it was pronounced, and I see in it the name for CONDÉ.

In Latin it would be Cundati, Cundoeti. This form might go over to Cundeti-Cunneti.[12] Still it is very likely that Condé may have been pronounced Cuneti or Cunnti, as it is found on the coins. It would be quite in the genius of the old Danish language. Condé is a common name for several French towns. The Danes occupied Condé sur l'Escaut in 883.[13] It may, however, be another Condé, situated some few miles south of Evreux;[14] and we should then have Quentovic, Evreux, and Condé not far from each other.

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[12] A specimen of this class, formerly in the collection of Dr. Grote, in Hanover, has CVNDITE; now I think in the royal collection in Berlin.

[13] "Et ibi hiemarunt."

[14] "Condé sur Iton, Depmt. de l'Eure, 32 kilom. d'Evreux, lieu fort ancien, Richard Cœur-de-lion donna, 1190, la baronie et le château de Condé a l'évêque d'Evreux" (Du Cange).

As to the letters + CIRTENΛ· ACRTEN, &c., I concede that in many cases CNVT REX can be made out of them. Still, I dare not *assert* this as a fact, but will leave this question open[15] for further inquiries, believing it rather a religious—most likely Benedictine—sentence beginning with CRUX, as the letters CR are often put together in a remarkable way. No Cnut rex is found about this time in history; and in these letters to see Cnut and to believe it to be meant for Guthfrid is very ingenious, but open to doubt.

All these things well considered I think the coins were struck by Siefred, as the Danish invaders often were in possession of the towns I have named, and got large sums of money for retiring. I should believe, after having seriously studied the annals, that De Longpérier[16] is right in fixing the date a little after 885, when Siefred for a long time had possession of the country round the mouth of the Seine.

When speaking of the origin of these coins, French or English, I have, of course, *never* been in doubt. It is a fact that, as shown above, it was not easy to strike coins in England without the moneyer's name, and if but one of Siefred's coins had borne such a name, I would have deliberated on their possibly English origin. There is, however, not a single one. In France the opportunities for such a mintage were far more favourable. The Merovingian system, when coins were struck everywhere, had ceased with the strong centralisation under Charlemagne. Still, under his weak successors, the clergy first,[17] and

[15] In Dannenberg, "Münz der Tsach und Frank. Kaiser," taf. 49, 982, there is a very similar cross and letter representation very dangerous to the Cnut theory.

[16] "Catalogue Rousseau," p. 196.

[17] B. Fillon, "Coll. J. Rousseau," 1860, p. xix.:—"Ce fut

afterwards the barons and towns, began to assume the right of coinage by permission[18] of the Emperor, very often employing his monogram. Even the abbeys and the convents[19] had often this right. It is known that the Normans often took these places in possession; and as coins were useful to them to pay their warriors and for their extensive commerce, no wonder that they might sometimes under very happy circumstances, and when keeping a place for a long time, have forced the ecclesiastical mints to make use of their right of coinage to the advantage of themselves. Hence the ecclesiastical peculiarities colouring these coins. I think the coins of Halfdan, struck by Raingald, and that with the London monogram, are very interesting, and two English coins agreeing exceedingly well with the annals. I never doubted that the coins of Anlaf and Eric are splendid specimens of Northumbrian coins, all with the moneyer's name, the type being in some cases a long-repeated imitation of the type of Valentinian coming down through Ciolwulf, the King of Mercia (Num. Chron., vol. v., p. 10), and through Halfdan (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ix.,

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au clergé que furent accordées les premières concessions de monnaieries ; celles faites aux comtes ne vinrent qu'en seconde ligne."

[18] "Revue Num. Franç.," 1868, p. 195:—"J'ai d'ailleurs indiqué les monastères de Saint Pierre qui en assez grand nombre ont été fondés dans notre pays pendant les VI., VII., et VIII. siècles" (A. de Longpérier). *Ib.*, p. 197:—"En effet nous connaissons bien les formules SCI QUINTINI MONET ; SCI STEPHANI MONE ; SCI MARTINI MONETA ; SCI PETRI MONETA, &c." (A. de L.).

[19] "Cat. Rousseau," A. de Longpérier, p. 216, No. 541:—"Monnaie de Tournus : *Obv.* + LOTARII REGIS PMSINE. (permissione). *Rev.*—SCI PHILIBERTI MONETA..... Eudes avait accordé la monnaie de Tournus à l'abbé Blitger, le 16 juillet 889."

Pl. I., No. 11), to what is called a flower (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ix., Pl. II. No. 26), but which in reality is a survival of the wings of the genius on the Roman coins.

To rank the Siefreds and Cunnetti coins, &c., amongst these Northumbrian coins is to me impossible. Well, it is said these invaders were foreigners, and had their workmen and their types with them from France; from these circumstances the slight resemblance to French coins is easily accounted for. To this I will only reply, that warriors might murder and ravage as they like, but to change the ancient system of coinage of so large a country as England would have been impossible to them. Afterwards, when Cnut invaded England, I do not think even he made any change, but was glad to leave the coins as they were, their great value arising from their being so well known over all the world. William the Conqueror[20] was equally cautious to preserve the coinage undisturbed. We always find that invaders do not touch the coinage,[21] and even the Christian Normans in Sicily put Arabic sentences of Islam on their coins, well knowing

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[20] See about this the prudent Ruding, i. p. 406.

[21] When Edward III. invaded France he began to introduce English coins, but soon felt it impossible:—"Il y avait à Calais une fabrique de monnaie. Nous voyons que, dès le 20 novembre 1347, Edouard III y avait reconnu un gardien des coins, et nommé un essayeur. Le 6 février suivant, *il ordonna qu'on y frappât de la monnaie* blanche, *semblable, pour la forme, le poids et le titre, à celle qui se frappait en Angleterre.* C'était s'éloigner de ses principes, qui respectaient les anciens usages du pays. Bientôt il *sentit les inconvénients* de ses nouvelles dispositions, et, dès le 28 mai 1349, il laissa au commandement de la municipalité la liberté de faire frapper les monnaies *telles qu'elles conviendraient le mieux aux habitants* et aux pays voisins, ses amis ou ses sujets."—Bréquigny. "Mem: de l'Acad. des Insc. et Belles Lettres," tome l. p. 627-28: "Revue Numismatique," tome iii. 1858.

the efforts made to make the coins acceptable in commerce.

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two pennies of Æthelred II. and twelve of Cnut. From the excellent and fresh condition of the latter, I am inclined to think that the hiding took place in that reign, or soon afterwards.

In 1872 occurred the finding of the now famous City of London hoard of more than 7,000 coins, mostly of the reign of Edward the Confessor. 2,829 coins of this find have been described by Mr. Ernest H. Willett, F.S.A., in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. xvi. Of these 2,798 were of the reign of Edward the Confessor, and only 31 of other reigns. They included, of coins of the Stamford Mint, 1 of Æthelred II., and no less than 61 of Edward the Confessor.

Besides those of the coins of the Stamford Mint yielded by these finds, I have gathered particulars of 50 others; so that the *additional* coins of this mint known to me up to this time are of the several reigns as follows:—

| | Coins. | | Coins. | | Coins. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EADGAR . . | 1 | CNUT . . . . . | 23 | WILLIAM I OR II. | 2 |
| EADWEARD II. | 4 | HARTHACNUT . . | 1 | WILLIAM II. . | 1 |
| ÆTHELRED II. | 11 | EADW. CONFESSOR | 83 | (Qy. Stafford Mint?) | |

The number of additional coins is thus 126, which, added to the former number (599), would give a total of 725 coins of the Stamford Mint known up to the present time. But a further addition must be made. In the description of the Beaworth Find by Hawkins are catalogued, of the Stamford Mint, of the "Paxs" type of William I. or II., 28 coins of BRVNSTAN, 5 of GODELEF, and 18 of ƿVLFƿORD, besides 8 of SEƿORD ON BVRD; 59 in all. Of these, I have only succeeded in tracing—7 of BRVNSTAN, 3 of GODELEF, 4 of ƿVLFƿORD, and 3 of SEƿORD. Supposing (as is unlikely) that all these 17 coins are from the

Beaworth Find, there would still be left 42 coins to be accounted for, and these must be added. There are, however, to be deducted 2 coins (doubtful, for reasons hereinafter assigned),[2] leaving a grand total of 765 known coins of the Stamford Mint. Thus—

599 (former List) + 126 (present List) + 42 (Beaworth Find) − 2 (rejected or doubtful) = 765 (total).

The additional coins bear 52 names, or variations in the spelling of names, of moneyers; of which, 7 (perhaps 11) are new names as associated with this mint:—EDLLAERD (Qy. Stafford?), ELFRIE, ELFPIE, ERIEE, LODEREOF (perhaps "LODELEOF" of former List?), LODFINE (perhaps "LODPINE"?), HERÐLYN, LEOFRLE, LEOPEN, PILLIRP [P?] (probably "PILLRIP" of former List), PVLFRIE. These, added to the names in the former List, raise the total number of moneyers of this mint whose names are known to more than 150.

Six others exhibit new variations in spelling:—ÆRFREE, FERLRIM, LIOFRIE, OSPTRDE, NPERTBRTND, NPERTBRTND. Thus, the names of the Stamford moneyers exhibit some 230 modes or variations of spelling.

There are three names of moneyers previously known as of this mint, which are now associated with reigns their connection with which has not previously been noted:—EDPINE on coins of Edward the Confessor, LODPINE (or LODFINE?) on a coin of Harthacnut, and HTREIN on a coin of Cnut.

I have added to my own collection 47 Stamford coins, of which 4 were included in my former List. The possession of the latter has enabled me to record their weights, which had not previously been noted.

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[2] See forward, pp. 208 and 209.

A penny of Edward the Confessor, reading on the reverse "ƎVLLINƎ ON STΛFFO", recently acquired by the Rev. Canon Pownall, F.S.A., has been assigned by him to a *Stafford* Mint; and rightly, as I think, for the following reasons:—*Ruding* recognises such a mint even as far back as of the reign of Æthelstan, from coins of that king bearing the letters "STF"[3] and "STEF", &c.; and he identifies the same mint of the reign of William I. in the lettering "STEFFOR". *Hawkins* (Beaworth Find) assigns to a Stafford Mint of the reigns of William I. or II. two coins of the "Paxs" type, bearing "STIEF" as the name of the mint.[4] Moreover, in the Tamworth Find (described by Mr. Keary, Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. xvii., p. 240), there were 6 pennies of William Rufus of that mint.

My List of 1869 included 3 pennies of Harold I. (Nos. 6, 25, 46), reading severally "FΛRƎRIM ON STΛF", "ÐVRSTΛ ON STΛFO", and "ƿILRIN ON STΛF"; and I appended to the description of each the note "[Qy. Stafford?]". Canon Pownall claims the last of these for the mint of Stafford, and I willingly concede the point; but (in spite of my own "Qy.") I must hesitate before consenting to transfer from Stamford to Stafford the former two.

"FΛRƎRIM" (or "FÆRƎRIM") is an old Stamford name; occurring in the same list, among the coins of Cnut, three times associated with the conclusive letters

[3] See Ruding's pl. xvii., fig. 19.

[4] I am rather disposed to dispute this conclusion of Hawkins. The moneyer's name on these coins is "GODƿINE", and I have recorded no less than 21 coins of this moneyer of the Stamford Mint of Edward the Confessor; being the largest number of coins of any moneyer of that mint or reign, except of "LEOFƿINE". I admit, however, that it is a common moneyer's name of some other mints.

"STΛN", and again as "FERLRIM" with the more developed "STΛNFO" on three coins in Mr. Willett's list of Eadward the Confessor's pennies of the City of London hoard.

"ÐVRSTΛ" (or "ÐVRSTΛN") occurs in my last List on no less than ten coins of Cnut associated with "STΛN" (Nos. 112 to 118 inclusive, and 171, 180, 181); and "ÐVSTΛN" (probably the same moneyer) three times (Nos. 183, 184, 186) with "STΛNFO" and the peculiar "STΛNFCR". One other (No. 185), of the same moneyer and type, reads "STΛFCR", evidently to me a mistake for "STΛNFCR": if such a mistake occurred once, it may have occurred more than once. Against the 13 coins cited of "ÐVRSTΛ" and "ÐVRSTΛN", unmistakably of the Stamford Mint, there are only four coins of the same moneyer which read "ST" or "STΛ" (Nos. 175 to 178). I can only conclude that all these coins of the moneyer ÐVRSTΛN are of the Stamford Mint, and that so also is that of the same moneyer of Harthacnut of my former List.

A coin of William Rufus (in my present List), from the Tamworth Find, described by Mr. Keary, and reading "EDLELAERD ON STΛ", may belong to either Stamford or Stafford, with a probability in favour of the latter town, as there is no record of Stamford coins of Rufus of that moneyer or of the same type.[5]

The British Museum classification of the types of Anglo-Saxon coins formerly quoted by me has been abandoned, and I have now omitted it; but I have retained the consecutive order of types which I adopted in

[5] The foregoing remarks were written before the appearance of Canon Pownall's paper on "Coins of the Stafford Mint," "Num. Chron." N.S., vol. xx., p. 66.

my List of 1869, as being more convenient for reference or comparison, although the order of date may be incorrect.

I have not received any information as to the acquisition by foreign collections of any additional coins of the Stamford Mint.

Referring incidentally to the *vexata questio* as to the exact interpretation of the letters "ON", I would recall the fact that early Anglo-Saxon coins commonly bear the word "MONETΠ", the place where the money was made (the "mint"), or perhaps used in abbreviation of "MONETΠRIVS", the maker of the money (the "moneyer"). The word "MONETΠ" gradually but irregularly wasted to "MONE", "MON", "MΩO", "M¯O", "MO", and sometimes even to "M" and "O". On coins of Æthelred II., and more often on coins of Cnut, both "MO" and "ON" appear, not unfrequently on money of the same types and moneyers.[6] I would ask whether "ON" may not be really a fragmentary relic, as it were (as "MO" certainly is), of the original "MONETΠ", and have been used as equivalent either to "mint" or to "moneyer". Such a solution of the problem (if feasible) would, I think, meet all difficulties; as the word might refer either to one moneyer or to the mint—*e.g.*, "LEOFRIC ON STANF" and "LEOFRIC MO NTΠN" (Cnut, Nos. 78, 79 of former List), under such a supposition, might severally but alike mean either "Leofric, *Moneyer*, Stamford", or "Leofric, Stamford *Mint*".

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[6] See former List, Æthelred II., Nos. 5—9; and Cnut, Nos. 74—79.

## SUPPLEMENTAL
## LIST OF COINS OF THE STAMFORD MINT.

### EADGAR.—A.D. 958—975.

Type:—Ruding, pl. xx. No. 7; Hawkins, No. 200; Hildebrand, C. 2.

| | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | + EΛDLΛR REX ΛLLOꝊ | + ƿVLFLΛR M⁻⊙ ƧTΛN•[7] Sharp[8] (22¼ grs.). |

[See Pl. XI. Fig. 1.]

### EADWEARD II. (THE MARTYR).—A.D. 975—978.

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxi. No. 3; Hawkins, 202; Hildebrand, A.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | + EΛDƿEΛRD REX ΛNG | + ÆLFƿΛLD H⁻O ZTΛNF Webster[9] (19¾ grs.). |
| 2. | + EΛDƿΛRD —— —— | + BOIΛ M⁻O ƧTΛNF⁻[10] Sharp (21 grs.). |
| 3. | + ———— —— ΛNGLO | + EƧLMΛN MO ƧTΛNF•[10] Laxton[11] (21 grs.). |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxi. No. 7.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | + EΛDƿEΛRD REX ΛNGLOꝊ | + ÆLFƿΛLD H⁻O ƧTΛNFOR•[10] Sharp (26¼ grs.).[12] |

Two pellets in upper fold and three pellets in front of robe on obverse; annulet partially obliterated under cross on reverse.

[See Pl. XI. Fig. 2.]

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[7] See former List—Eadgar, Nos. 12 and 13.

[8] The author of this Supplement.

[9] Mr. W. Webster, 26, Bedford Square, London.

[10] See former List—Edweard II., Nos. 6—10, 2—5, 43.

[11] Mr. Laxton, formerly of Stamford.

[12] This coin is precisely like that in the British Museum (No. 43 of my former List), excepting that in the latter case no attempt has been made to obliterate the annulet on the reverse, and there are no pellets on the obverse.

afterwards the barons and towns, began to assume the right of coinage by permission[18] of the Emperor, very often employing his monogram. Even the abbeys and the convents[19] had often this right. It is known that the Normans often took these places in possession; and as coins were useful to them to pay their warriors and for their extensive commerce, no wonder that they might sometimes under very happy circumstances, and when keeping a place for a long time, have forced the ecclesiastical mints to make use of their right of coinage to the advantage of themselves. Hence the ecclesiastical peculiarities colouring these coins. I think the coins of Halfdan, struck by Raingald, and that with the London monogram, are very interesting, and two English coins agreeing exceedingly well with the annals. I never doubted that the coins of Anlaf and Eric are splendid specimens of Northumbrian coins, all with the moneyer's name, the type being in some cases a long-repeated imitation of the type of Valentinian coming down through Ciolwulf, the King of Mercia (Num. Chron., vol. v., p. 10), and through Halfdan (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ix.,

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au clergé que furent accordées les premières concessions de monnaieries; celles faites aux comtes ne vinrent qu'en seconde ligne."

[18] "Revue Num. Franç.," 1868, p. 195:—"J'ai d'ailleurs indiqué les monastères de Saint Pierre qui en assez grand nombre ont été fondés dans notre pays pendant les VI., VII., et VIII. siècles" (A. de Longpérier). *Ib.*, p. 197:—"En effet nous connaissons bien les formules SCI QUINTINI MONET; SCI STEPHANI MONE; SCI MARTINI MONETA; SCI PETRI MONETA, &c." (A. de L.).

[19] "Cat. Rousseau," A. de Longpérier, p. 216, No. 541:—"Monnaie de Tournus: *Obv.* + LOTARII REGIS PMSINE. (permissione). *Rev.*—SCI PHILIBERTI MONETA..... Eudes avait accordé la monnaie de Tournus à l'abbé Blitger, le 16 juillet 889."

Pl. I., No. 11), to what is called a flower (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ix., Pl. II. No. 26), but which in reality is a survival of the wings of the genius on the Roman coins.

To rank the Siefreds and Cunnetti coins, &c., amongst these Northumbrian coins is to me impossible. Well, it is said these invaders were foreigners, and had their workmen and their types with them from France; from these circumstances the slight resemblance to French coins is easily accounted for. To this I will only reply, that warriors might murder and ravage as they like, but to change the ancient system of coinage of so large a country as England would have been impossible to them. Afterwards, when Cnut invaded England, I do not think even he made any change, but was glad to leave the coins as they were, their great value arising from their being so well known over all the world. William the Conqueror[20] was equally cautious to preserve the coinage undisturbed. We always find that invaders do not touch the coinage,[21] and even the Christian Normans in Sicily put Arabic sentences of Islam on their coins, well knowing

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[20] See about this the prudent Ruding, i. p. 406.

[21] When Edward III. invaded France he began to introduce English coins, but soon felt it impossible:—"Il y avait à Calais une fabrique de monnaie. Nous voyons que, dès le 20 novembre 1347, Edouard III y avait reconnu un gardien des coins, et nommé un essayeur. Le 6 février suivant, *il ordonna qu'on y frappât de la monnaie* blanche, *semblable, pour la forme, le poids et le titre, à celle qui se frappait en Angleterre.* C'était s'éloigner de ses principes, qui respectaient les anciens usages du pays. Bientôt il *sentit les inconvénients* de ses nouvelles dispositions, et, dès le 28 mai 1349, il laissa au commandement de la municipalité la liberté de faire frapper les monnaies *telles qu'elles conviendraient le mieux aux habitants* et aux pays voisins, ses amis ou ses sujets."—Bréquigny. "Mem: de l'Acad. des Insc. et Belles Lettres," tome I. p. 627-28: "Revue Numismatique," tome iii. 1858.

that it would make them acceptable to the Saracen population. The English coinage was so rich and valuable, and so often imitated by Continental nations to give their coins value, that it is quite contrary to all probability to believe that French systems and French customs could be introduced by people like the Vikings, not yet acquainted with coinage, and who, when they afterwards began to strike coins in their home, imitated the English types and English system.

Now I will end these remarks. These Cuerdale enigmatical coins have for years worried the learned world as much as in those old times their issuers worried the clergy. The old ravages ended quietly by establishing a kingdom of Northumbria and a duchy of Normandy. The contest about the coins has ended altogether in the city of York in Northumbria, not yielding a single coin to the countries on the opposite side of the channel. This is not as it should be. I cannot quietly accept the series of coins reputed to have been struck by Danish kings in Northumberland, but will leave the question open to further inquiries as to which of them are to be given to England and which to France. The circumstance is so peculiar that coins perhaps never found in France should be brought to England and concealed there, that I hope for help from French numismatists in the investigation of these coins, which the late Mr. Thomsen of Copenhagen, in the Catalogue Devegge, written by himself (1851), thought best put under the class—"Coins struck by northern princes in England and France."

S. Bergsöe.

Copenhagen, *April*, 1880.

# XI.

## THE STAMFORD MINT.—SUPPLEMENT.

SINCE the publication, in 1869,[1] of my History and List of Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Mint of Stamford, so many additional coins of that mint have become known to me as to warrant, I think, the production of this Supplement.

In the interval which has elapsed, two important finds of Anglo-Saxon coins have occurred.

In the early part of 1872, or in the previous year, there was turned up at, or in the neighbourhood of, Barrowby, near Grantham, the shin-bone of an ox, broken (not sawn) at each end, and stopped with clay: it was filled with Anglo-Saxon pennies. From fear of the law as to "treasure-trove", the time and exact place of the finding, the name of the finder, and the number of coins found, were jealously concealed; and I have not yet succeeded in obtaining information as to any of these particulars, or in ascertaining the number, reigns, or range in time, of the coins discovered.

Fortunately, a gentleman (who, as I believe, had no knowledge himself of these withheld data), having seen my former paper, secured for me (without my previous knowledge) the shin-bone itself and fourteen coins of the Stamford Mint contained in the find. These consist of

[1] "Num. Chron." N.S., vol. ix.

two pennies of Æthelred II. and twelve of Cnut. From the excellent and fresh condition of the latter, I am inclined to think that the hiding took place in that reign, or soon afterwards.

In 1872 occurred the finding of the now famous City of London hoard of more than 7,000 coins, mostly of the reign of Edward the Confessor. 2,829 coins of this find have been described by Mr. Ernest H. Willett, F.S.A., in the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. xvi. Of these 2,798 were of the reign of Edward the Confessor, and only 31 of other reigns. They included, of coins of the Stamford Mint, 1 of Æthelred II., and no less than 61 of Edward the Confessor.

Besides those of the coins of the Stamford Mint yielded by these finds, I have gathered particulars of 50 others; so that the *additional* coins of this mint known to me up to this time are of the several reigns as follows:—

| | Coins. | | Coins. | | Coins. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EADGAR . . | 1 | CNUT . . . . . | 23 | WILLIAM I OR II. | 2 |
| EADWEARD II. | 4 | HARTHACNUT . . | 1 | WILLIAM II. . | 1 |
| ÆTHELRED II. | 11 | EADW. CONFESSOR | 83 | (Qy. Stafford Mint?) | |

The number of additional coins is thus 126, which, added to the former number (599), would give a total of 725 coins of the Stamford Mint known up to the present time. But a further addition must be made. In the description of the Beaworth Find by Hawkins are catalogued, of the Stamford Mint, of the "Paxs" type of William I. or II., 28 coins of BRVNSTAN, 5 of GODELEF, and 18 of ƿVLFƿORD, besides 8 of SEƿORD ON BVRD; 59 in all. Of these, I have only succeeded in tracing—7 of BRVNSTAN, 3 of GODELEF, 4 of ƿVLFƿORD, and 3 of SEƿORD. Supposing (as is unlikely) that all these 17 coins are from the

Beaworth Find, there would still be left 42 coins to be accounted for, and these must be added. There are, however, to be deducted 2 coins (doubtful, for reasons hereinafter assigned),[2] leaving a grand total of 765 known coins of the Stamford Mint. Thus—

599 (former List) + 126 (present List) + 42 (Beaworth Find) — 2 (rejected or doubtful) = 765 (total).

The additional coins bear 52 names, or variations in the spelling of names, of moneyers; of which, 7 (perhaps 11) are new names as associated with this mint:—EDLGAERD (Qy. Stafford?), ELFRIE, ELFPIE, ERIEE, GODEREOF (perhaps "GODELEOF" of former List?), GODFINE (perhaps "GODPINE"?), HERÐGYN, LEOFRGE, LEOPEN, PILGIRP [P?] (probably "PILGRIP" of former List), PVLFRIE. These, added to the names in the former List, raise the total number of moneyers of this mint whose names are known to more than 150.

Six others exhibit new variations in spelling:—ÆRFREE, FERGRIM, LIOFRIE, OSPTRDE, SPERTBRTND, SPERTBRTND. Thus, the names of the Stamford moneyers exhibit some 230 modes or variations of spelling.

There are three names of moneyers previously known as of this mint, which are now associated with reigns their connection with which has not previously been noted:—EDPINE on coins of Edward the Confessor, GODPINE (or GODFINE?) on a coin of Harthacnut, and HTREIN on a coin of Cnut.

I have added to my own collection 47 Stamford coins, of which 4 were included in my former List. The possession of the latter has enabled me to record their weights, which had not previously been noted.

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[2] See forward, pp. 208 and 209.

| Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|---|
| 55. + ·EDƿ✱✱✱D REX· | + ✱✱✱FƿINE ON STAN✱ Sharp (23½ grs.). |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxv. No. 18; Hawkins, 227; Hildebrand, F; Head, type vi., pl. v. fig. 6; Willett, type F, pl. xi. fig. 7.

| | |
|---|---|
| 56, 57. + EDƿARD REX | + ÆRFREE ON STANFO[46] Willett (2 coins). [L.H.] |
| 58. + EDƿAR·D REI | + ÆRFREE —— ——[46] Sharp (21 grs.). |
| 59. + EDƿERD REX | + BRVNƿINE ON STANFO[47] Willett. [L.H.] |
| 60, 61. + EDƿERD RE+ | + ꞮODƿINE ON STANF[47] Sharp (19 grs.). [L.H.][48] Another, apparently from the same dies, broken.[48] |
| 62. ·+ EDƿARD REX | + ———— — ——[47] Verity (20¼ grs.). [L.H.] |
| 63. + EDƿR:D ER· | + ƿVLFRIꞮ ON ꝏTANR Verity (19¼ grs.). |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxiv. Nos. 9, 10; Hawkins, 222; Hildebrand, G; Head, type viii., pl. v. fig. 9; Willett, type H, pl. xi. fig. 9.

| | |
|---|---|
| 64, 65. + EADƿARD REX | + BRVNƿINE ON STANFO Willett (2 coins). [L.H.] |
| 66. + ———— —— | + ꞮODƿINE —— ——— Willett. [L.H.] |
| 67. + ———— —— | + LIOFRIꞮ ON ꝏTANNF Willett. [L.H.] |
| 68, 69. +———— —— | + LIOFƿINE ON STANFO[49] Willett (2 coins). [L.H.] |
| 70. + ———— —— | + SƿARꞮOLF ON STA Willett. [L.H.] |
| 71. + ———— —— | + ƿILꞮIRƿ[P?] ON STANFO Willett. [L.H.] |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxiv. No. 9.

| | |
|---|---|
| 72. [50]EDƿΠRDE RD RE Π | + BRVNƿINE ON ꝏTΠNFO Sharp (26 grs.). |

[46] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, No. 34.
[47] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, Nos. 37, 38.
[48] Kindly ceded to me by Mr. Evans.
[49] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, Nos. 41—43.
[50] No cross on obverse.

| Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|---|
| 73. + EDƿΛRD RE | + LEFRIC ON STΛNFO Sharp (19¼ grs.).[51] |
| 74. + E✱✱ƿΛR RD ƿE[52] | + LIOFƿINE ON ϖTΛNFO[53] Sharp (20½ grs.). |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxiv. No 14 (without annulet on reverse); Hawkins, 228; Hildebrand, H; Head, type vii., pl. v. fig. 7; Willett, G, pl. xi. fig. 9. ("Throne" type—reverse, martlets in angles of cross.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 75. [54] EDƿΛRD × ΛNGLOR | + BRVNƿINE ON STΛ[55] Creeke (16¼ grs.). |
| 76. [54] ——— — ——— ? | + LEOFRIC ON STΛNF[55] Willett. [L.H.] |
| 77. [54] ——— — — ——— — | + ——— — STΛN[55] Sharp (20 grs.). |
| 78. [54] EΛDƿΛRD REX ΛNGLORV | + ƿILGRIƿ[P?] ⊙N STΛN·F[56] Sharp (20 grs.). |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxv., ob. No. 26, rev. No. 25; Hawkins, 223; Hildebrand, I; Head, type x., pl. v., fig. 12; Willett, type L, pl. xi., ob. fig. 12, rev. fig. 11.

| | |
|---|---|
| 79. [54] EIIDƿIIRD REX | + LEOFRIC ON STIINF Verity (18¾ grs.). [L.H.][56] |
| 80. + EΛDƿΛRD REX Λ | + SƿΛRCOLF ON STΛ[57] Willett. [L.H.] |

Type:—Ruding, pl. xxvi. Nos. 36, 37; Hawkins, 229; Hildebrand, B; Willett, B, pl. xi. fig. 2. (Small size.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 81. + EDƿERD REX | + LEOFƿINE ON STΛN[58] Willett. [L.H.] |
| 82. + ——— ·· ——— | + ƿILGRIƿ[P?] ON ϖTΛ Willett. [L.H.] |
| 83. + ——— — RE | + ——— —— STΛ Sharp (12 grs.) [L.H.][59] |

[51] Kindly ceded to me by Mr Evans.
[52] A variety having the hoop of crown dotted or jewelled.
[53] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, Nos. 41—43.
[54] No cross on the obverse of these coins.
[55] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, Nos. 45, 48, 49.
[56] No. 54 of this type in former List (GODVINE, moneyer) weighs 18 grs. For obverse and reverse of this peculiar coin see Pl. XI. Fig. 16.
[57] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, No. 58.
[58] See former List—Eadward the Confessor, Nos. 65—69.
[59] Kindly ceded to me by Mr. Verity.

WILLIAM I. OR II.—A.D. 1066—1087, 1087—1100.

Type:—Ruding, pl. i. No. 4; Hawkins, 241. (The "PΛXS" type.)

| Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|---|
| 1. + ƿILLELMREX | + BRIINSTIIN ON STN[60] Sharp (21¼ grs.). |
| 2. + ———— | + DIINIE ONN STIINF Sharp (20½ grs.).[61] |

MONEY OF THE ABBEY OF BURGH OR PETERBOROUGH—STRUCK AT THE STAMFORD MINT? (The "PΛXS" type. See above.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. + ƿILLELM REX | + SFƿORD ON BIIRD[62] Creeke (20¾ grs.). |

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS).—A.D. 1087—1100.

Type:—Ruding, pl. B, No. 22; Hawkins, 244.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. + ƿILLELMREXI | + EDLFAERD ON STA [Qy. Stafford?]. Keary.[63] |

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[60] See former List—William I. or II., Nos. 1—7.

[61] Kindly presented to me by the Rev. Canon Pownall, F.S.A., Mem. Num. Soc. This coin is that represented in my former List, William I. or II., No. 8. I have inserted it in my present List for the purpose of a more minute description. No. 6 of the same type in my former List (BRVNSTAN, moneyer), and No. 16 (ƿVLFƿORD, moneyer), weigh severally 20½ grs., and both belong to Canon Pownall.

[62] See former List—"Burgh," Nos. 2 and 3. *Erratum:* In my former List of Moneyers, the number of the then known coins of this moneyer under "William I. or II." (3 types, 4 moneyers) is, by mistake of printer, placed opposite the moneyer's name "ΝΕΟΙ," instead of that of "SEƿORD."

[63] In the find of William I. or II. pennies at Tamworth, described in "Num. Chron." N.S., vol. xvii., by C. F. Keary, Esq., M.A., Mem. Num. Soc.; British Museum.

## SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT.

| | Eadgar. | | Eadward the Martyr. | | Æthelred II. | | Cnut. | | Harold I. | | Hartha-cnut. | | Eadward the Confessr. | | Harold II. | | William I. | | William I. or II. | | William II. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. |
| ÆLFLET | — | | — | | 1 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ÆLFWALD | — | | 1 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ÆRFRE | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ÆRFREE[64] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 2 | 4 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ARFRA | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ASEWLE | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| BOIA | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| BRAND | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| BRVNSTAN | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| BRIINSTIIN | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | |
| BRVNWINE | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 5 | 10 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| BRVNWINE | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LAWELIN | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| EDLLÆRD[65] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 |
| EDWINE[66] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1[66] | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ELFRIL[65] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| ELFWIL[65] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| No. of Coins of each Reign | — | | | 3 | | 3 | | 4 | — | | — | | | 20 | — | | — | | | 1 | | 1 |

[64] New variations in spelling.

[65] New names.

[66] Previously recorded names now first associated with these reigns.

SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF MONEYERS OF THE STAMFORD MINT (*continued*).

| | Eadgar. | | Eadward the Martyr. | | Æthelred II. | | Cnut. | | Harold I. | | Harthacnut. | | Eadward the Confessr. | | Harold II. | | William I. | | William I. or II. | | William II. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. | Types. | Coins. |
| ERIIE[65] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| EXEMΛN | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| FÆRLRIM | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| FERLRIM[64] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 2 | 3 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LODÆL | — | | — | | 2 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LODEREOF[65] or LODELEOF? | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LODRIE | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LODVINE | — | | — | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | — | | — | | 5 | 8 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LODFINE[65 66] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1[66] | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| HΛRLIN[66] | — | | — | | — | | 1[66] | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| HERÐLYN[65] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 2 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEFRIE | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 3 | 3 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEOFEDΨEI | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEOFRIE | — | | — | | — | | 2 | 2 | — | | — | | 4 | 5 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LIOFRIE[64] | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEOFRLE[65] | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEOFXIL | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEOFVINE | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | 4 | 15 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LIOFVINE | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | 2 | 3 | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LEOVEN[65] | — | | — | | — | | 1 | 1 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |
| LIVINL | — | | — | | 1 | 2 | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | | — | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OSƿARDE[64] | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 6 | — | — | — | — |
| OSƿERD | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| SEƿORD | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 1 | — |
| SƿAREOLF | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 5 | — | — | — | — |
| SƿERTBRAND[64] | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| SƿERTBRAND[64] | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ÐVRSTAN | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ÐVRVLF | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ƿILGIRƿ [Qy. P?][65] | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — |
| ƿILGRIƿ [Qy. P?] | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 6 | — | — | — | — |
| ƿVLFGAR | 1 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ƿVLFRIC[65] | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — |
| ƿVLFƿINE | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 2 | — | — | — | — |
| ƿVLSTAN | — | — | 1 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| ✱✱✱FƿINE<br>LEOFƿINE?<br>ƿVLFƿINE? | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 1 | — | — | — | — |
| | 1 | 1 | 8 | 19 | — | 1 | 63 | — | — | 1 | — |
| Brought forward | — | 3 | 3 | 4 | — | — | 20 | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| No. of Coins of each Reign | 1 | 4 | 11 | 23 | — | 1 | 83 | — | — | 2 | 1 |

[64] New variations in spelling, 6. [65] New names, 11.
[66] Previously recorded names now first associated with these reigns, 3.

## Descriptions of Coins figured on Plate XI.

Fig. 1.—Eadgar. No. 1 of present List. ƿVLFƊAR, moneyer.

,, 2.—Eadweard II. ("Martyr"). No. 4 of present List. On obverse, two pellets in upper fold of robe and three pellets in front of robe. On reverse, an annulet (partially obliterated) opposite right-hand lower angle of central cross. ÆLFƿΛLD, moneyer.

,, 3.—Æthelred II. No. 33 of former List. On reverse, a notched disc opposite right-hand lower angle of cross. HILD, moneyer.

,, 4.—Æthelred II. Obverse of No. 11 of former List, exhibiting a peculiar crown.[67]

,, 5.—Æthelred II. Reverse of No. 2 of present List. An annulet opposite right-hand upper angle of central cross. ƊOD ÆƊ, moneyer. See below, Fig. 7.

,, 6.—Æthelred II. Obverse of No. 7 of present List. The king's helmet shows peculiar ornamentation over forehead, not previously figured.

,, 7.—Æthelred II. Reverse of No. 11 of present List. An annulet enclosing a pellet in right-hand upper angle of cross. ƊOD ÆƊ, moneyer.[68] See above, Fig. 5, the same moneyer, showing an annulet in a similar position.

,, 8.—Æthelred II. No. 145 of former list. A peculiar variety of Ruding, pl. xxii. No. 1. Excellent workmanship. ƊODRIƊ, moneyer.

,, 9, 10.—Cnut. Obverses of Nos. 4 and 5 of present List, varieties not previously figured.

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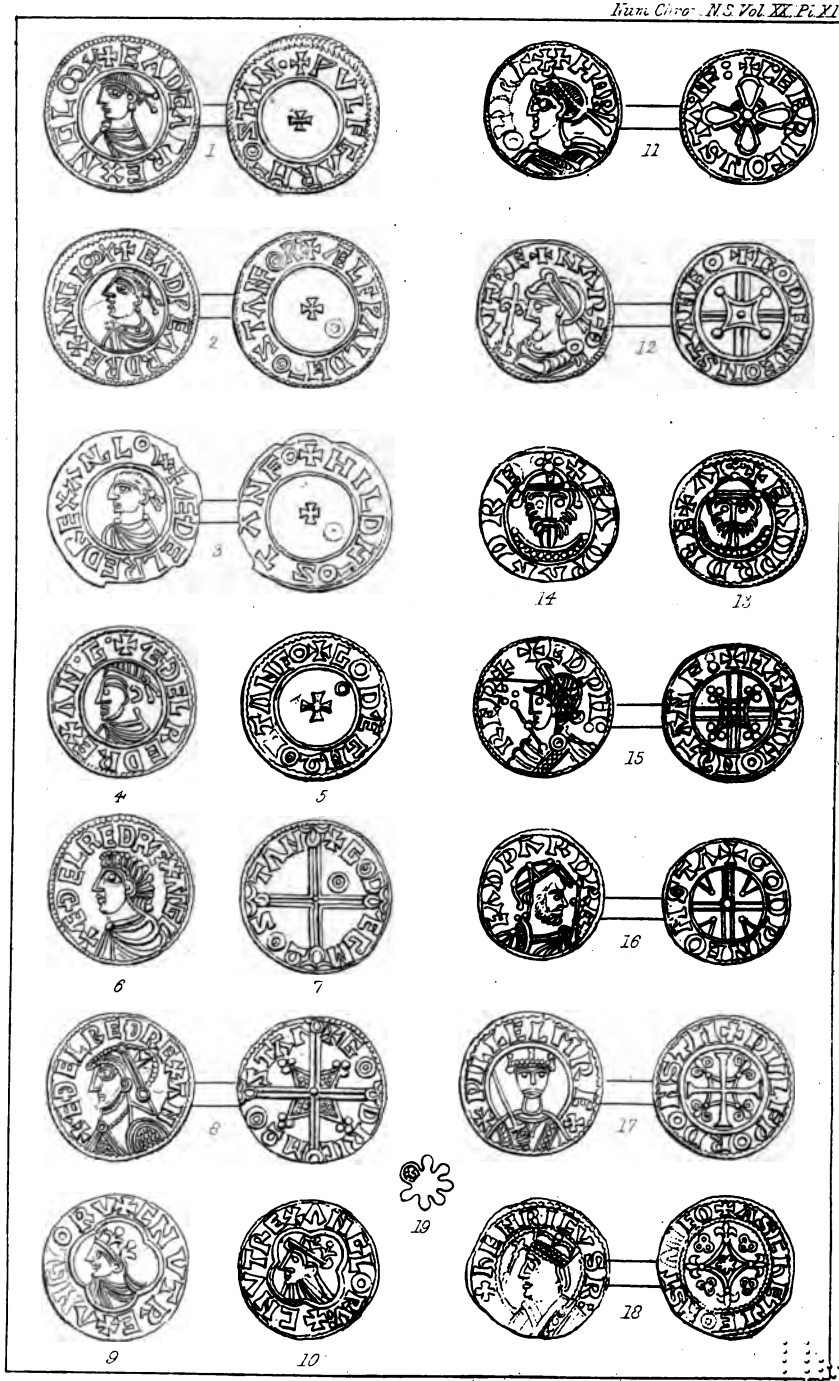
[67] Kindly lent for engraving by Jos. Phillips, Esq., Stamford.

[68] Kindly lent for engraving by Major Creeke, Mem. of Num. Soc. of London.




COINS OF THE STAMFORD MINT.

Fig. 11.—HAROLD I. No. 14 of previous List. Not figured in Hawkins. ŁEFRIC ON STA·NF:

,, 12.—HARTHACNUT. No. 1 of present List. + GODꝼINE ON STΛNFO.

,, 13, 14.—EADWARD THE CONFESSOR. Obverses of Nos. 18 and 19 of present List. Variations of previous figures.

,, 15.—EADWARD THE CONFESSOR. No. 17 of former List. Obverse, sceptre across the king's breast. See also No. 30 of former List, and Lindsay's "Remarkable Coins," 1860, pl. ii. No. 34. Reverse, peculiar lettering—HΛRCIN ON ꝺTΛNF.

,, 16.—EADWARD THE CONFESSOR. No. 54 of previous List. Obverse, frontal guard to helmet, allied to facial guard of Norman helmet. Reverse exhibiting six dots in upper limb of cross, and peculiar lettering—GODꝼINE ON ꞩTΛ.

,, 17.—WILLIAM I. OR II. No. 21 of former List. PIILFPORD,[69] moneyer.

,, 18.—HENRY I. No. 8 of former List. Reverse exhibiting unfigured peculiarity of central object. ΛSChETIE, moneyer.

,, 19.—Enlarged figure of central object of last reverse.

SAMUEL SHARP.

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[69] PVLFꝼORD or ꝼVLFꝼORD?

# XII.

## SOME FURTHER NOTES UPON "PENNY OF CNUT THE GREAT: A RECTIFICATION."[1]

LETTER OF MONSIEUR C. F. HERBST TO H. W. HENFREY, ESQ.

COPENHAGEN, 24 *April*, 1880.

DEAR SIR,—You have been kind enough to send to the Royal Danish Cabinet of Coins a reprint of your "Rectification" of a so-called penny of Cnut the Great, first published in Ruding, pl. xxiii. No. 26; and subsequently we have to thank you for a plaster-cast of this curious piece, which is now in the collection of Mr. William Brice of Clifton. After having examined the cast, I now cheerfully acknowledge that you, and the gentlemen of the Medal Room in the British Museum, have correctly read the legends on the coin, which, as on Ruding's plate, are:—

*Obv.*—+ENVT · REX ΛN.

*Rev.*—· OÐBI ON NORPI.

M. C. J. Thomsen, the Director of the Royal Danish Collection of Coins, who died in 1865, was, therefore, mistaken in the opinion he expressed in the "Numismatic Chronicle," Old Series, vol. iii. pp. 116—122, in his letter

[1] See "Numismatic Chronicle," N.S., vol. xix. p. 220.

to the late J. Y. Akerman, that an examination of the original would give us "ꟼNVT REX DANOR" and "OTHBIORN I LVNDI." But we must remember that Thomsen had never seen the piece itself, and that he reasoned from the fact that our collection preserves three coins of the same size and type, all struck under Cnut the Saint (1080—1086) at *Lund in Scania*, and reading thus:—

1. *Obv.*—+ꟼNVT · REX · DΛNOR.
   *Rev.*—+OÐBIORN · I L.

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1.
   *Rev.*—+OÐBIORN · I · LVNDI.

3. *Obv.*—ꟼNVT · REX D.
   *Rev.*—+OÐBIORN I LV.

We now come to the question whether the coin in Ruding was struck by King Cnut the Great, as assumed by the English numismatists, or dates only from the time of Cnut the Saint, as Thomsen thought. As to this, I altogether coincide with Thomsen.

As a proof that the coin was struck in Norwich, and is therefore English, you refer in your note to Dr. L. Müller, the Director of the Royal Danish Cabinet, to the curious piece produced in London for Edward the Confessor ("Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xvi., Pl. XII. No. 7), the reverse of which is of the same type as the obverse of the coin in Ruding. But this remarkable penny, whose obverse I unhappily have not seen, can in no case prove that Ruding's example is of Cnut the Great. At the most it can only show that its reverse type was first used in England, and then served as a pattern for coins of Cnut the Saint, made at Lund in Scania. It is likely

enough even that the latter king's moneyer, Othbiorn in Lund, really came from Norwich and brought this die with him (*i.e.* the reverse die of Mr. Brice's coin).

In support of Thomsen's opinion, assented to by myself, that the coin is of the reign of Cnut the Saint, I beg to lay the following facts before you. In our Royal Cabinet of Coins are sixty-six different pieces, from the workshops of twenty-five different moneyers, which in type, size, and character, are strikingly similar to the specimen in Ruding. But that all these coins really are from Saint Cnut's days, and really are struck in Lund in Scania, is shown by a multitude of Danish coin finds; and is still further evident by comparison as to style and character with the coins of Cnut the Saint's predecessor, King Harald Hein, and with those of his successor, Olaf Hunger. In fact, the style of the mintage of this king, which the Ruding piece greatly resembles, undoubtedly (in my opinion) places all these coins much lower down than the coinage of Cnut the Great, with which the Scandinavian numismatists are abundantly familiar, each of the royal collections in Stockholm and in Copenhagen possessing more than two thousand six hundred different English coins struck for that king.

But it may be objected, how can a piece with the title REX AN and the mint NORPI belong to Cnut the Saint, a ruler who by no possibility could call himself King of England or have money struck for him in Norwich? To this pertinent question I can give no satisfactory answer. One might guess that when *Othbi* or *Othbiorn* had been appointed Cnut the Saint's moneyer in Lund, he produced this coin as a flattering compliment to his master and a recommendation of his own talents. Or one might suggest that when Cnut the Saint and the Norwegian

king, Olaf Kyrre, collected in 1085 a powerful fleet in the Limfjord, in order to sail to England and attempt its conquest, the mint-master, Othbiorn, struck this penny as a pleasing omen for his royal employer. But neither of these conjectures is likely or satisfactory. I am more inclined to look upon the coin as resulting from the excessive carelessness of the moneyer, to call it by no harder name. This surprises us the less, as, among the northern coins struck in the eleventh century, we have many similar examples, instances of confusion or neglect in the legends which are almost incredible.

I will mention one or two specimens. For instance, the piece engraved in B. E. Hildebrand's work,[2] under Æthelred II., type F, the legends of which read:—

*Obv.*—+ÆÐELRED RE.

*Rev.*—+OÐÐENLAR O LVD.

(Compare also the "Catalogue de la Collection de C. J. Thomsen," 2e partie, tom. iii., No. 9869*a*.)

Many examples of this "Æthelred" are known, particularly from finds in Sweden. Can it be given to the English king of that name? Everything shows that it cannot, and nearly all northern critics agree at present in assigning it to the mint of Lund in Scania, and to the reign of King Harthacnut, whose coins it strikingly resembles in size, type, character, and legend of the reverse. See Hawkins, pl. xvii., Fig. 218 (*Rev.* Legend, OÐÐENLR ON LVD), which is not English, but certainly coined at Lund in Scania.

Then there is, in both the Danish and the Swedish

[2] "Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm." Stockholm, 1846.

Royal Cabinets, a remarkable penny, which may be described as follows :—

*Obv.*—+ENVT REX SP. Bust of the king to the left, with fillet-diadem ; a sceptre before him.

*Rev.*—+ÐORMOÐ ON SIHT around a circle, within which is a double cross with a ring in the midst.

Now it is clear that this coin, which is mentioned in "Hildebrand," page 148, cannot be assigned to Cnut the Great, as might be supposed from its obverse. We all know that this great warrior was never King of Sweden (*vide* the REX SP, for SW, on the coin). It was doubtless struck under the Swedish king, Anund Jacob (1022—1050), by his well-known moneyer in *Sigtuna*, near Upsala, THORMOD.

I could add many other such pieces, but have only time to speak of one, as it is a glaring instance of how careless the mint-masters of that age might be, and how often they abused the ignorance of the people in the art of reading Latin letters. I refer to a coin described by myself in the "Antiquarisk Tidskrift" (published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries), 1846, page 51 ; and which was struck under the Danish king Magnus the Good (1042—1047) :—

*Obv.*—+ MAhNVS REX. Type as Hawkins, fig. 218.

*Rev.*—+ LEFPINE ⊙N LINLO: Type as Hawkins, fig. 217.

Of course Magnus could not strike money in Lincoln. But it is easy to read the riddle. In the Royal Danish Cabinet is an English penny of Magnus's predecessor, Harthacnut, struck with exactly the same reverse die as the above-described coin of Magnus. Thus it appears

that *Lefwine* was mint-master at Lincoln under Harthacnut, at whose death he takes service under King Magnus, and removes to Denmark. When here, quite disregarding the changes which had taken place, on one of the coins which he strikes for his new master, Magnus, he uses one of his old dies which he had brought over with him from England.

Believe me, &c.,

C. F. HERBST,

Inspector of the Royal Danish Collection of Coins.

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NOTE BY H. W. H.

IN forwarding the above interesting letter of M. Herbst for publication in the "Chronicle," I venture to add a few remarks on one or two points which seem to me (with all due deference to M. Herbst's greater experience in the coinage of this period) still in favour of my original attribution of Mr. Brice's coin to Cnut the Great.

In the first place, the coin is undoubtedly a genuine one of the period. It is also exceedingly well struck, and in perfect preservation, so that there cannot be the least doubt about the reading of any portion of the legends. Although the piece itself is (as far as is known at present) unique, and the type is also unusual and peculiar, the style and design are not altogether unknown on Anglo-Saxon pennies. Those coins of Edward the Confessor found in the City Hoard (with type as Pl. XII., No. 7, vol. xvi. of "Num. Chron."), certainly prove that this type may be English, and also that it is *at least as old* as the reign of the Confessor; and, moreover, I do not see how they can *preclude* the idea that the type may be even older, as old as Cnut the Great for instance. We cannot

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say *for certain* that this type first made its appearance on Edward the Confessor's coins.

The moneyer's name—*Othbi* (probably an abbreviation of *Othbiorn*)—is not by any means an impossible name to occur on a Norwich penny; for we learn from other coins that there was a moneyer at Lincoln during the reigns of Cnut and Edward the Confessor named *Othbeorn* or *Othbern*, who may even have been the very same man.

There would be considerable force in the analogies which M. Herbst adduces from blundered English or Danish coins of this period, if it could be satisfactorily shown that Mr. Brice's penny is a *blundered coin* at all. But that this is the case I think his arguments quite fail to prove, for it is difficult to conceive that *both* sides of the coin could be so (apparently) deliberately and consistently blundered as he imagines. It has not the rude and barbarous appearance that many blundered pieces have, such as letters unfinished or repeated, superfluous and unmeaning strokes in the legends, &c. On the contrary, each letter is most clearly and neatly formed, and the whole appearance of the coin is that of an exceptionally well-made and carefully-engraved example.

If the two legends on this penny did not so exactly coincide to make good sense and meaning, we might more reasonably doubt their correctness. If, for instance, the obverse read "REX DAN" (instead of AN), the reverse remaining as it is (ON NORPI), I should certainly think it might be a blundered Danish coin, as M. Herbst suggests. Or, again, if while the obverse legend remained as it is (REX AN), the reverse bore the name of some Danish mint, I should also then incline to M. Herbst's opinion that the coin was a blundered penny of the Danish king Cnut the Saint.

For it should be noticed that of the three examples of blundered (and supposed English) coins which M. Herbst quotes, the two latter have words in the legends which prove a Swedish or Danish origin (viz. SW. on one, and MAGNVS on the other), and his first example bears the equivocal mint-name LVD, which might be either Lund in Scania, or London in England. But the name NORPI (for NORWI) on Mr. Brice's coin cannot possibly mean any other place than *Norwich*, and the obverse legend reads as clear as can be REX AN, and not REX DAN.

It seems to me a most unlikely idea that the moneyer could have blundered on *both sides* of the same coin, and produced as the result such a *consistent whole:* "King of England," with place of coinage, "Norwich." M. Herbst has not adduced above any example of a penny blundered on *both* sides.

For these reasons, then, although M. Herbst's arguments are very ingenious and suggestive, I feel that I must still adhere to my original opinion that, in spite of its rare and unusual type and its (as far as I know) unique existence, Mr. Brice's interesting little coin is an English one, and struck in the reign of Cnut the Great.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

BROMLEY, KENT, *May*, 1880.

# XIII.

## UNPUBLISHED YORKSHIRE TOKENS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, WITH CONTEMPORARY NOTES ON SOME OF THE ISSUERS OF HULL AND OTHER TOWNS.

YORKSHIRE has the large number of four hundred tokens, published by Mr. Boyne in his standard work, being, with the exception of those of Middlesex (with London), Surrey (with Southwark), and the home county of Kent, more than he assigns to any other English locality. As that author was born in Leeds, doubtless he used his best endeavours to record all he could of his native county, but since his work was brought out in 1858, about fifty others, hereafter described, have been found, although it is but fair to mention that Mr. Boyne acquired some of these himself. For his description of them, and for his notes upon the issuers, marked W. B. in the following list, I am indebted to Mr. J. S. Smallfield, of London.

The custodians of the unpublished tokens, when known, are indicated by their initials under the Nos.—W. B. signifying Mr. Boyne; C. E. F., Mr. Fewster, of Hull; H. S. G., the writer; J. R., Mr. Richardson, of Hull; J. S. S., Mr. Smallfield; B. M., the British Museum, and U., unknown. The Nos. correspond with Boyne's, with the addition to the unpublished tokens of *a*, *b*, *c*, or *d*, signifying the place to insert them if another edition is ever published.

The contemporary notes on the issuers have been condensed by me from an octavo volume of 500 pages, entitled[1] "Sketches of Hull Celebrities, or Memoirs and Correspondence of Alderman Thomas Johnson (who was twice Mayor of Hull). The whole compiled and arranged for publication by Mr. William A. Gunnell, from MSS. dating from 1640, furnished him by the last surviving member of the Johnson family." (Gunnell, Hull, 1876.)

Through the kind courtesy of that gentleman (now acknowledged with thanks), I have been permitted to make from his work such extracts as I wished, relating chiefly to the token issuers of Hull. The quaint chronicler was an intimate friend, and frequently the host, of Andrew Marvell, a native of and then M.P. for Hull; he, therefore, might be presumed to have been an educated man, but it will be seen that his orthography was most defective, scarcely a word being spelt right. Frequently the same word is spelt differently, and, *cum multis aliis*, we have "tokins" and "tokyns;" "quoins" and "quoyns"! He was evidently a keen observer, and if there were any peculiarities, either mental or bodily, in the subjects of his memoirs, he never failed to notice them.

His notes give us some curious information about the local "mynters" of that time, also in what year several undated tokens were struck. There are several tokens with a small initial R upon them; among others, some of those issued by the Corporations of Bristol, Gloucester, "the Mayor of Oxford," and the two town-pieces of the then remote borough of Bideford. We learn from Boyne (see page 91) that Thomas Rawlins, a noted engraver of the period, cut the dies for these; with that exception,

[1] The editors of the N.C. cannot vouch for the authenticity of the papers from which this work was compiled.

we knew nothing of all the other artists who engraved the dies for the many thousands of tokens issued between 1648 and 1672, but the old chronicler gives us the names of three Yorkshire makers (see Nos. 125, 138*a*), also the quantity ordered by some of the issuers.

### ALDBOROUGH.

Boyne's Nos.

2. The device of John Yates on each side, omitted in Boyne (p. 497) is on—

*Obv.* A chevron between three gates (the family arms), forming a rebus on his name—gates being called "yates" or "yetts" in Yorkshire.

*Rev.* The device is a globe.

### ALMONDBURY.

2*a*. *Obv.* IOHN . DIXON . IN . ALMONBVRY.—A pair of scales.
J.S.S.
*Rev.* HIS . HALFEPENNY . 1667.—I.M.D.

This is an enormous parish and township in the district of Halifax, containing about 30,000 acres, and several villages and hamlets.

Its name does not appear in Boyne.

2*b*. *Obv.* NICHOLAS . GREAVES . 1668.—Detrited.
W.B.
*Rev.* OF . ALMONBVRY.—HIS HALF PENNY.

The issuer was son of the Rev. Nicholas Greaves, incumbent of Holmfirth in 1630, and afterwards rector of Tankersley (Moorhouse's "History of Holmfirth").

2*c*. *Obv.* FRANCIS . HORNE . IN . ALMONBVRY. — Three triple
H.S.G. crowns (the Drapers' arms).

*Rev.* I . WILL . EXCHAING . MY. — 1669 . PENNY (in two lines).

This is of brass, broad (size 8), but thin. Such promis-

sory tokens, with the words, "I . WILL . EXCHAING," &c., appear to be nearly confined to Yorkshire. They occur in Boyne, at Nos. 49, 76, 80, 104, 162, 190, 279, 280, 299, 300, 301. Nos. 76 and 300 are engraved on Plates 34 and 35 in Boyne, and are apparently the same diameter as Francis Horne's. Most likely they were all by the same artist.

### ANLABY.

Boyne's Nos.

2*d*. *Obv*. IOHN NEWTON . 1669.—Two crosses ?
U.
*Rev*. OF . ANLABY . NEARE . HVLL.—His half peny.

### ASKRIGG.

3*a*. *Obv*. WILLIAM . LAIDKEEN.—Head of Charles II.
U.
*Rev*. IN . ASKRIDG . 1666.—His half peny.

### BARNSLEY.

7. *Obv*. The device of John Smith is an ostrich.

### BEVERLEY.

20. Stephen Goackman was a grocer as well as mercer; he was made one of the twelve governors of his borough in 1642, was elected mayor in 1667, and died the same year (W.B.). His token is not dated; but Ald. Johnson in one of his MSS. states that "hee (S. G.) putte oghte a quoyn in the yeere 1664."

20*a*. *Obv*. WILLIAM . IOHNSON . AT . THE.—W.C.I.
J.R.
*Rev*. COFFEE . HOVSE . IN . BEVERLEY.—His ½ peny.

24*a*. A variety of W. Sheerewood's token is dated 1667.

25, 26. William Wilberforce, mercer and grocer, was made a governor of Beverley in 1642; the next year he was chosen mayor, and again elected in 1674. (W.B.)

### BINGLEY.

26*a*. *Obv*. THOMAS . SMITH.—A bunch of grapes.
U.
*Rev*. OF . BINGLEY . 1667—HIS HALF PENY.

## BRADFORD (a transfer).

Boyne's Nos.

28*a*. The token of "William Bailey," assigned erroneously to Bradford, Wiltshire, in Boyne (p. 479, No. 5), ought to be inserted here. After his work was published, Mr. Boyne found out *that* issuer lived in the Yorkshire Bradford, and was buried at Horton, an adjoining village.

34*a*. W.B. *Obv.* DAVID . PARKINSON.—The Mercers' arms.

*Rev.* IN . BRADFORD . 1666.—His half pony.

## BRIDLINGTON.

41*a*. U. *Obv.* THOMAS . CORBIT.—Arms, a chevron between three mullets.

*Rev.* OF . BRIDLINGTON.—The Vintners' arms.

The surname is not spelt the same, and the arms on obverse differ from those on B. 41, but it is possible that the raven on the latter may be the crest, and those noted above the arms of the Corbett family.

## CRANSWICK.

51*a*. W.B. *Obv.* GEORGE . WILBERFORCE.—The Grocers' arms.

*Rev.* IN . CRANSWICK . 1670.—G.M.W. ½.

The only place of this name in the Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales has the prefix of Hutton to it, near Great Driffield, in East Riding.

## DONCASTER.

59. Ann Fayram's token is not dated, but T. Johnson states, "Ys quoyn was agaven vente toe in y^e yeere o ye greyte fyer o' Londone" (1666).

62. The device on obverse of Will. Hall's token is a man with a staff. Boyne says (p. 501), "Only one other

Boyne's Nos.

example of a tollman's token is known—see Stilton, Hunts;" but there is an unpublished halfpenny by "Ste . Garner . Tovlman . at . Nottingham . Bridg."

66*a*. *Obv.* ABRAHAM . PILLIN . 1665.—A.E.P.
W.B.
*Rev.* CARRIER . OF . DONKESTER.—His halfe penny.

The parish register states he was a carrier to London, and was buried September 19th, 1695. (W.B.)

## GOOLE.

81*a*. *Obv.* CHRISTOPHER . BVLLOCK.—A man on horseback.
U.

*Rev.* GOOLE . CARRIER . 1669.—His halfe penny.

This town is not in Boyne; it lies on the Ouse, at its junction with the Don.

## HALIFAX

88. John Brearcliffe was a surgeon in Halifax, where he died in 1682, aged sixty-three. He was a noted antiquary, and made many notes on his native town, being fond of collecting anything relating to it. (W.B.)

90. Richard Dolliffe was owner of the Swan Inn at that time. He died in 1681, aged sixty-four, and was buried in the parish church. (W.B.)

## HEDON.

105. Samuel Baines, town clerk of Heedon, was ejected from his office by the Corporation Commissioners in 1662. (W.B.)

## HONLEY AND HOLMFIRTH.

108*a*. *Obv.* GEORG . DIXON . IN . HONLEY.—His halfe peny.

*Rev.* OR . HOLMFIRTH . 1666.—G.S.P. and a tun.

Honley and Holmfirth are two of the villages referred to *ante*, as being in the parish of Almondbury. A perfect specimen of this token was discovered in Germany, and the description sent to England by Dr. Freudenthal. (W.B.)

### HORTON (NEAR BRADFORD?)

Boyne's Nos.
109*a*. *Obv.* GEORGE . GOAD . OF . HORTON.—G.M G.
U.
*Rev.* HIS TOKEN . FOR . A—HALF PENY.

There are several Hortons in England, but from the legend on the rev. (see B. 154 for one similar) I believe this is a Yorkshire token.

### HULL.

114. John Baker was a pewterer, at that time an important trade in England, as nearly all the plates and dishes in use were then made of pewter. The device—a hand holding a hammer—was probably the sign of the issuer. There was formerly an old alehouse in High-street, Hull, which had for its sign The Hammer and Hand, and tradition says that Baker was born in and occupied that house. Baker was made chamberlain in 1669. This was an ancient and honourable office, dating from a very early period. It had been the custom heretofore to charge the two chamberlains on going out of office £20 each for being a "gentleman;" but Baker sturdily refused to pay the sum demanded, stood suit with them, and cast them, so that £40 per annum was lost for ever to the corporation. He died in 1710, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the nave of Holy Trinity Church, Hull. (Communicated by Mr. J. Richardson.)

115, 116. Alderman Johnson says of this issuer:—"Richard Barnes ys a Grocer an Pepperer, yn Munk Gat. Hee putte oute 2 quoins, wone wase a halfe peny, yn 1669, o ye fourme offe a harte; an thodder wase a ronde dodkin[1] (farthing) yn 1672. Thes quoins dydde

[1] Bailey has this word in his dictionary, and gives its derivation from the Dutch, "kin," diminutive, and "duyt," a small coin. Hence the adage, "Not worth a doit."

Boyne's Nos.

ha 9 swete Clovs (Grocers' arms), wi hys name, o' wone syde, an one thodder, OF HULL, wi ye yeare." (T.J., 1689.) This description corresponds with that in Boyne's list.

117, 118. "Samuell and William Birkby bee broders, and Copesmates (partners) wi one anoder. Samuell is a gryttlyn-gryster (miller) yn Finkhill Strete, an Willie amenagith a backster and gryste (baker and flour) shoppe yn ye Beverley Strete, a few doores aparte ffrom ye auld Kirke layne. Yn 1666 Samuell putte oute a dodkyn quoyne, one wone syde was a garba (wheat-sheaf), wi hys name, an one thodder HVLL . S . H . B. Ys dodkyn mette wi ye beste accourigemente, an abetted Willie toe doe ye lyke yn 1668, butt hee hadde 3 garbas one itte (ye armes-beyrens o' ye famlie), wi W . K . B . an itte wase o' deble ye werthe" (or a halfpenny). (T.J., 1679.)

119, 120. "John Blanchard kepeth a bygge hostel yn ye Market Gat Strete, wi an ale-stak (sign-board) & 3 corons (the Hull arms) one itte. Yn 1671, John putte oute a halfe peny quoin, wi hys ale-stak an name one wone syde, an ye Towne name one thodder, whych mette wi soe much successfulnesse yt ye next yeere, hee putte oute anoder o' ye werthe offe a dodkyn, whych dydde noghte mete wi ye lyke preddie (ready) passe." These two tokens have no date on them. (T.J., 1681.)

121. "Walter Brockett (Brokett on the coin) folloeth ye besnesse offe a Tanner, atte Grangewyck,—abowghte a myle awaie ffrom ys towne.—Yn ye yeere 1666, hee putte oghte a Hull quoyn, o' ye werthe o' a halfendeale peny (halfpenny). Itte dydde hav a goodelie passe amyd ye bettremowste sort o pepel, butte ye lowermowste sort o ffolk woude ha naghte toe dow wi ytte. His feyther was Sir John Brockett, o Brockett Hall, who wase funeratid yn Hadfield Kirk." (T.J., 1669.)

122. "Lyonel Buckle ys a Grocer yn ye Newe Kirk layne, whare hee hath a bygge shoppe, an embusieth a goodlie numbre o' wroughters (workers). Mayster Buckle ys terse yn besnesse mattres, ffor atte ye syde o' hys shoppe hee hath a spankyn borde wi letteryns

Boyne's Nos.

peynted one itte, wel nygh a foote yn bygnesse, NOE CREDITT HEERE. Yn ye yeere 1665, hee putte oghte twoo quoyns. Wone wase o' ye werthe offe a halfe-peny, an thodder wase a dodkyn, an thay dydde ha a fayre passe, bye reysone o' hym alwaie payen hys littel accompts wi em. Yn 1681, wee amayde hym Shiref o' ys Towne, an hee wase ofte ye causen o' muche hoddiness (merriment) amyd ye bench o' Aldermen.—Iffe he gettith lectid intoe any pleck (place) —hee ys soe overcrawyn, yt hee ys beyand alle controulmente." (T.J., 1685.) The dodkyn (farthing) is not in Boyne, but C. E. Fewster, Esq., one of our new members, has a specimen. It reads thus—

122*a*. *Obv*. LYONELL . BVCKLE.—A buckle.

*Rev*. IN . HVLL . 1665.—L.A.B.

The device is evidently intended as a rebus on the name.

124. "Robert Felloves ys a nether stock wroughter (stocking maker). He bee a man much approvid ffor his charitablenesse, an wel menyn waies, an hath everieones good wordyn. Yn ye yeere 1668, hee putte oghte a Hull quoyne, o' ye werthe o' a halfe-peny an itte sempts to mete wi' a fayre passe." (T.J., 1668.)

125, 126. "John Goodwin hadde a hostel in Lyle Strete, wi ye sygn-borde, 'Ys bee ye Rose an Crown.' Yn ye yeere 1666, Goodwin putte oghte a halfendeal peny quoyn, yt hee gatte amayde o' Adam Clarke o' Hudersfield, butte ye impresse wase badde, soe hee gatte anoder massemente amayde o' James Farnlie, o' Bratforde, whych wern mowre compleate. Ys quoyn hath a vaste passe, an gav hym accourigemente, ffor yn 1668, hee putte oghte anoder o' ye worthe o' a dodkyn, butte ytte meteth wi a powgher passe." (T.J., 1669.) The last-named token was not dated (see Boyne, p. 506).

130*a*. "James Lycett ys ye sonne o' a Sope Marchaunt an Makyr at Nottynhame. Yn 1668, Lycett came toe ys Towne, an yn ye same yeere hee putte oghte a ronde hapenie quoin,—wi 2 glaives pleckt athwart (two swords in saltire) one wone syde, an hys name one thodder, but noghte beyn a man yt wase lykid,

Boyne's Nos.

itte dydde ha noe passe, ffor ye pepel beleived hym toe be a man who hadde come lyke a clowde, an woude departe lyke a shaddoe." (T.J., 1684.) This token has never been found by the Hull collectors, so this description by the old chronicler must suffice.

131. "Richard Perry yn 1645 tooke an ale-housen yn Lyle Strete, wher hee now hath a rousyn trad. Hys sygne-borde bee ye Whyte Swanne. Owre hys shoppe chimney-piece hee hath depeynted ye lyne,—'Yffe I truste afore I tryes, I maie repente afore I deyes.' Ys lowe felloe, Perry, hadde ye dacitie throghe ye advice o' ye Maire,—Robert Bloome (who was a lyke kynd o' charactar, an wone o' hys bettermowste customeres) to putte oghte a quoyn, yn ye yeere 1665, o' ye worthe o' a dodkyn (this too is undated). Ytte wase seld taken by ye trad-ffolk, or bettermowste sorte, butte by ye losels (idle fellows), tynkers, an odders o' yt kynde, ytte hadde a waynte (great) passe." (T.J., 1670) who afterwards added :—"Yn ye yeere 1673, Perry deyde, an Maggie (his wife) tooke down hir domino (widow's veil) 3 months afteryns, an welded (married) wi wone o' hir favorids."

132. "William Robertson owenith a spankeyn an godelie lokeyn shoppe yn High Strete, hys besnesse bee yt offe a Hatte an quoit (cap) vender. In 1667 (the token is undated), Willie putte oghte a token wi ye wordyns, WILLIAM . ROBERTSON, wi a slye sorte o' animerie (animal) somewhate lykeuntoe a fox wi a longe an bushie tayle o' wone syde, an HIGH . STREET . IN . HVLL . wi W . R on thodder, an ffrom whate I coude gayne, ytte mayntayned a fayre passe. Willie gatte III Ston (42 lbs.) o thes dodkyns mynted, an twase wel wotten, yt everieche tyme hee payde hys men one a Satturdaie, hee alwaie tooke godelie cark toe pam offe a cuppel o' shillins o' thes yn chaing."

133*a*. "William Robinson ys an Anchor an Gyve (chain) Marchant. Hee ys alsoe a generale trader in odder sortes o' Marchandize an Ironmongerie, ffor whyche hee hadde anodder shoppe. Yn 1668, he wase amayde Chamberlayne of Hull, an yn 1682, hee became its Sherife. Yn 1669, hee putte oute a trad token of ye valley offe a dodkyn, butte hee gav mee ye assurance that he lyved to regret ytte, ffor ye

Boyne's Nos.

passe ytte had, niver payde th' oghtlaie o' myntyn. Ytte was shapend lyk untoe ye fourme offe a hart, an yn ye mydwaie o' wone syde, ye fygguryn offe a shyppes anker.—Ronde ye borderyn wur ye wordyn, WILLIAM . ROBINSON.—W . I . R . whyles thodder syde bare ye wordyn, KINGSTON . VPPON . HVLL.—HIS HALFE-PENY . 1669. Willie gatte a scoure o' thes quoyns mynted yn gould, an gav mee wone fytted yn a trynket case, whych I hav bye mee atte ye preasant daie. Alle thodder wur yn Ockamie" (brass and copper mixed). If, as is said, the issuer went to the expense of getting a score "mynted" in gold, it is not to be wondered at that the bronze ones never paid for the outlay. The token is not in Boyne, and has never been seen by the Hull collectors.

133*b*. Another variety of the same issuer, which passed through my hands lately, but now belongs to Mr. J. Richardson, of Hull, may have been issued from the "general trader's" shop. It reads—

*Obv.* WILLIAM . ROBINSON.—A hatter's iron and rabbit under.

*Rev.* KINGSTON . VPPON . HVLL.—W.I.R. (Large farthing.)

135. "Joshua Scotte hath a Souter's (cobbler's) Shoppe yn Beverley Strete. Yn foretymes, Scotte putte oghte a Hull quoyn o' ye worthe o' a dodkyn, wi a rod one ytte, an wone of hys ffrendes wantyn toe wot ye meynyn o' ytte; Joshua seyde 'Youe seye ytts a thynge I kepeth yn pyckel ffor Byshoppes an parsons, yt I maie usen wheyn I hev ye chaunce.'"

136*a*. *Obv.* RICH . STOCKDAILL . IN.—An anchor.

*Rev.* KINGSTON . VPPON HVLL.—R.M.S. 1665.

This farthing is in the collection of C. E. Fewster, Esq., of Hull. The issuer is one of the very few not mentioned in the Hull celebrities.

137. "Richard Sugden ys a silk mercerieman, an Habberdasherer yn Auld Kirk Layne, hee ys benempte by ye laddes yn ye Strete, Fattie Sugge; hee ys wayntlie proodie (greatly proud) o' hyssel, ase beyn ye

Boyne's Nos.

weyghtyeste man yn Hull, hee braggeth yt hee weygheth 8 and 30 Ston (532 lbs.), wythout hys shoos! Yn y^e yeere 1664, Sugge (*sic*) putte oghte a dodkyn quoyn, an ytte hadde a fayre passe." (T.J., 1665.)

138*a*. "Cyprian Venture owneth a (di)stillerie yn ye Roperie, Hull, an' yn ye Refinerie beyth a Fewill (chimney) o' greyte loftinesse." After stating that "Mayster" Venture often went to the Bell at York on business, our chronicler adds:—"Yn 1668, Molly Wind (see Boyne, No. 398) putte oute wone o' thos quoyns nempte a tradsman's pryvylege, butte yn common parlans, a tradsman's tokyn, and ys quoyn gettyn suche a waynte bygge currencie, ytte gav gode harte to hir frend Mayster Cyprian toe dopte ye lyk course, an' afore longe, hee gatte a Mayster Ramsker o' Sheffeild (see Boyne, p. 519, No. 298, for an interesting note about him) to mynt hym VIII Ston (112 lbs.) o' thes tokyns, an' one wone syde yt beareth ye wordyn, CYPRIAN . VENTVRE . HVLL . wi a stillerie an a bygge fewill o' wone syde, an HIS . HALFEPENNY . 1669 . wi (in the field?) NOTHIN . VENTVRE . NOTHIN . GET . (in four lines?) one thodder. Ys quoyn beyth o' bygger (pro)porchuns theyn anie odder y^t I hav seyne afore." The Hull collectors have never seen this unpublished token, thus described by Ald. Johnson.

139. "Thomas Watson ys a Talloe, Sope, an Flysk (combe) Chapman yn Loe Gat Strete, wel nygh y^e Kirk. Thomas ys a godlie Man, ffor atte y^e tyme o' ye repairemente offe Holie Trinitie Kirk, yn 1656, hee gav bountouslie. Hee ys noe argufyer ffor eyther religious scrupleyns ore polytycks, butte goode toe ye poore, an yn yayre weyghtie nede hee ys alwaie preddie (ready) toe gyve hys aidance bothe yn monie an goodes. Yn ye yeere 1668, Thomas became a mynter, ffor hee putte oute a halfendeal peny, an ytte cam toe hav a verie fayre passe. Yn 1670, hee deyde. Yn 1668, Tommie's feyther buylded a Maison Dewe (hospital) one ye northern syde o' ye Holie Trinitie Kirk." (T.J., 1673.)

141. "Jonas Yould kepeth a hostelrie yn ye Market Gat Strete, yclept ye Cross Keyes, wel nygh toe ye Towne Halle, an amayde itte a coachyn stablishment, an postyn Housel. Hee runne a coache ffrom ys towne

Boyne's Nos.

toe London, ffor takyn passyngers. Ys coache lefte heere everie Mondaie, an gatte toe itts destynate one Thursdaie wheyn anoder o' ye lyke kynde, wase reddie toe starte ffrom Londone toe Hull,—bothe o' em beyn heavie, lumberous, an uglie conveyancies.—Wheyniver I wendid toe London, I alwaie gatte my twoo shillin dysh o' tay, whyles Jonas woudebee chaingyng hys horses, atte Molly Wind's Ale housen, at Spurrier Gat yn Yorke (see B., 398). Yn 1666, Jonas putte oute a Hull quoyn, o' ye werthe offe a dodkyn, butte y^e passeyn wase maynelie amonge Horse Kennilers (grooms) an folke o' ye lowermowste ordyr." (T.J., 1668.)

## LEEDS.

162. Of this issuer our chronicler writes :—" Tommie Dawson mayntayned a Hostel atte Leedes, an alwai cam toe Hull, an restid a nyghte one Tuesdaies. Ys man wase consyderydde wythoute xcepte, wone o' ye mowst humorsomme men y^t coude bee mette wi, ffor saie whate youe moyghte, hee woulde twyste youre wordyns yntoe alle kyndes o' hypallige (nonsense), butte yn suche a lyke waie y^t ytte niver gav umbrige toe aniebodie, butte merriemente toe alle. Hee usened toe show a yeapson (both hands full) o' hys Copperie Tokyns, alle mynted wi hys owne name one wone syde, an one thodder a beare, wi ye wordyns, Beware o' ye beare." " This is a *double entendre*, as bear and beer are both alike pronounced *beer* at Leeds, and he is warning his customers of the strength of his beer " (Boyne, p. 509). (T.J., 1672.)

165*a*. *Obv.* IOHN . ELSTON.—Arms in shield.
J.R.

*Rev.* OF . LEEDS.—HIS . HALFE PENY.

The description of this token was sent to me by Mr. J. Richardson, 13, Savile Street, Hull.

170. *Obv.* SAMVELL . GREATHEAD . OF.—A + between four
W.B. fleurs-de-lis.

*Rev.* LEEDS . IN YORKSHIRE.—His halfe penny.

Mr. Boyne sent the above description (left unfinished at page 510) to his friend, Mr. J. S. Smallfield, of London.

Boyne's Nos.

174*a*. *Obv.* ROBERT . HVRST.—A fleece suspended in shield.
W.B.

*Rev.* IN . LEEDES.—R.M.H.

This issuer, from his device, was probably in the cloth trade. He was assessed at eight hearths in 1663. (W.B.)

182*a*. *Thomas . Saul in Leeds . Shoemaker* (in four lines, script).
B.M. —T.B.S.

*Rev.* HIS HALFE PENY, 1657.—High-heeled shoe and knife.

## MALTON.

201. We learn from Ald. Johnson that "Robert Rymer wase feyther o' Francis Rymer o' Northallerton (B., 210) an John Rymer o' Whitby" (B., 325). It will be seen by the device (the Mercers' arms) on their tokens they all carried on the same trade.

## MIDDLEHAM (TOWN NOT IN BOYNE).

204*a*. *Obv.* LAWRENCE . CAVE.—The Grocers' arms.
U.

*Rev.* OF . MIDDLEHAM . 1666.—His halfe peny.

From Tutet's MS. Communicated by Mr. J. S. Smallfield.

204*b*. *Obv.* CHARLES TODD.—The Grocers' arms.
H.S.G.

*Rev.* IN . MIDLEHAM . 1668.—His halfe peny.

This was acquired at Tavistock, Devon, by the owner. No other specimen is known.

## OTLEY.

211. *Obv.* THOMAS . ENGLAND . IN . OTLEY.—HIS PENNY.
W.B.

*Rev.* IN . YORKSHEIRE . 1670.—A heart.

## POCKLINGTON.

220*a*. A variety of 220, has the Grocers' arms on the obverse,
W.B. instead of I . H.

## PONTEFRACT.

Boyne's Nos.

226*a*. A variety of 226, has on obverse "*Lee Hartley*," in script.
J.S.S.

229. This token is not dated, but one of Johnson's MS. states:—"Hee (R. L.) putte out a Quoyn in y^e yeere 1666." At a later date he adds:—"Francis Rymer o' Northallerton, yoakt hyssel (married) toe y^e widdoe o' powre Richard Lyle atte Pontefract."

## SCARBOROUGH.

268*a*. *Obv*. WILLIAM . SAVNDERS.—A nag's head.
U.

*Rev*. IN . SCARBROVGH . 1667.—His halfe peny. (Tutet's MS.)

## SEDBERGH (A TRANSFER).

269*a*. *Obv*. JAMES . HARRISON.—The Grocers' arms.

*Rev*. IN . SEDBRIDGE . 1666.—I. H. It is believed by some that this "uncertain" token (Boyne, p. 526, No. 71) may belong to Sed*bergh*—Sed*brig* (the local name for bridge) being similar in sound. Moreover, the above token has the same device on obverse and date on reverse as another Sedbergh farthing (B., 271). There is no Sedbridge in this kingdom.

## SELBY.

274*a*. *Obv*. ANTHONY . COLYER.—A dove with an olive branch.
W.B.

*Rev*. IN . SELBEE . 1666.—A.F.C.

## SHEFFIELD.

280*a*. *Obv*. MICHAELL . BAKER.—His halfe penny.
W.B.

*Rev*. OF . SHEFFEILD . 1666.—S.B. (*sic*).

Initials do not agree with the issuer's. Perhaps his own first initial was omitted by an oversight.

297*a*. *Obv*. ABIELL . YEATS . IN.—A merchant's mark.
J.S.S.

*Rev*. SHEFFEILD . 1668.—His halfe peny.

## South Cave.

The following note referring to one of the issuers is from p. 288 of "Hull Memorials":—

Boyne's Nos.

304. "John Chapilow, ye Hatt an Quoif (cap) Makyr yn ye Bucherie cam ffrom South Cave, an ys a Man wayntlie (very) desyreful ffor Cyvick honores; an I ha heeard hym saie hee woude atte anie tyme deposite £50 yn y^e^ powre box, toe bee amayde eyther Maior, Sherif, ore Alderman, an I ha 2 ore 3 tymes usenid my endevormentes too (per)swade y^e^ Bench toe tak hys monie, ffor ye avaylemente (good) o' ye powre pepel, butte niver coude gette em intoe ye humore, hee beyn a man y^t^ y^e^ Bench care lyttel abowhte, beyn froppish (crabbed) an fulle o' wranglyn an bickermente. He hadde y^e^ infortune o' beyn boren wi 5 fyngers an noe thombe one wone o' hys handes, an y^e^ laddes benempte hym 'Crabbe fyngerd Jacke,' butte y^y^ tooke goodlie care noghte toe lette hym heere em, forre hee ys soe verie splenetive" (passionate). (T.J., 1696.)

## Thirsk.

309*a*. *Obv*. GEORGE . IACKSON.—A crown.

*Rev*. THIRSKE . 1664.—DYER. (Tutet's MS.)

310*a*. *Obv*. WILLIAM . WILSON . OF.—The Mercers' arms.
C.G.

*Rev*. THIRSKE . MERCER.—W.W.

## Wakefield.

312*a*. *Obv*. WILLIAM . BAYNES.—The Grocers' arms.
J.S.S.

*Rev*. IN . WAKEFIELD . 1664.—W.G.B.

## Whitby.

325. Our chronicler in one of his MSS. states that "John Rymer of Whitby yoakt hyssel toe ye Widdoe offe Stephen Goackman o' Beverlay." So it will be seen the two brothers married widows of issuers.

## WOODHOUSE (NEAR LEEDS).

Boyne's Nos.

327*a*. *Obv.* WILLIAM . BVRGIS . HIS HALF PENNY (in four lines across field).

*Rev.* IN . WOODHVS . 1668 (in three lines, between lines).

There are four Woodhouses in England (three of them are in other counties), but as there are more tokens in this county than in any other, with the legends across the field (31 in No.), I believe this to be a Yorkshire halfpenny.

## YARM.

332*a*. W.B. *Obv.* IAMES . SMITH.—In Yarm.

*Rev.* GOD SAVE THE KING.—The King's head crowned.

## YORK.

333*a*. *Rev.* A variety of 333 reads MARKEYT, &c., and is dated 1666.

364*a*. C.E.F. *Obv.* GEORGE . IACKSON.—St. George and dragon.

*Rev.* GROCER . IN . YORKE.—G.I.

It is probable the issuer may have selected this device for his sign, to form a rebus on his Christian name.

380*a*. *Rev.* A variety of 380 reads thus: "YORKE . HIS HALF . PENY, 1666.—I. P. R."

387*a*. *Rev.* A variety of 387 is dated 1668, round the device, thus—16 above the arms, 6 and 8 on each side.

393*a*. *Obv.* A variety of 393 has the legend in script, and slightly differs, thus—

*Thomas* | *Wallker* | *Dier in* | *York . his* | ½ (in five lines across the field).

394*a*. *Obv.* A variety of 394 has the legend also in script. (In 5 lines, reads as 394.)

333*a* and the last four descriptions are taken from a copper-plate engraving in a folio volume, "History and

Antiquities of the City of York, by Francis Drake, Gent., F.R.S.," London, 1736. The local currency of the period in the old city presents a peculiarity worthy of notice. Out of above 70 known specimens, only 7 are farthings (the rest are all halfpennies), being a marked contrast to the 80 known varieties of another ancient city, Exeter, with only *one* ½d., and 79 of the lower denomination. The last two specimens in the list are from a class of tokens rather numerous in the county and its capital. They are *all* engraved in script across the field, a few of them (*a*) on *both* sides, as B. 32, 140, 270, 287; a larger number (*b*) have legends in script only on one side, and in Roman capitals on the other, as B. 13, 88, 110, 111, 192, 202, also 182*a*, *ante;* but still more numerous specimens (*c*) have the legends only on Obv. in script, with the Rev. quite filled with the device (sometimes accompanied with the date, which is never before 1668). Of this kind, Boyne gives Nos. 63, 68, 176, 197, 350, 351, 356, 367, 368, 382, 387; also see 393*a*, 394*a*, *ante*. But besides the foregoing Yorkshire tokens, several of which are either heart-shape or octagonal, there are some of our English town-pieces that, from the similarity of style and appearance, I believe are by the same artist (who, like Rawlins, must have had a wide connection), viz. the two of Lincoln (B. 87, 88), the two of Peterborough (B. 82, 83); Bewdley, co. Worcester (B. 3), all five octagonal; and Nottingham (B. 33), round, but a very large halfpenny. Some of these are engraved in Boyne's plates, and may be at once recognised by their general likeness.

## Proposed Transfers.

B. 328. "John Jonson" is assigned by Mr. Justin Simpson, of Stamford, to Wragby, Lincolnshire, who

found the issuer's name in the Church register of that parish (see Tokens of Lincolnshire, page 172).

B. 347. From a perfect specimen, the legend on Rev. reads ROOTHAM, and belongs to Wrotham, co. Kent, which is still pronounced by the natives as spelt. (J.S.S.)

## Errata and Corrigenda in Boyne's List.

No. 13. *Rev.* For HALF read HALFE.
,, 63. *Obv.* For GERVAS read GEORGE.
,, 67. *Rev.* C. E. F. has a variety reads HALF, &c.; also he has another reads as in Boyne.
,, 70. C. E. F. has a variety dated 1668.
,, 71. *Obv.* For THWAITES read THWHAITS.
,, 110. *Rev.* For *half* read *halfe.*
,, 141. *Obv.* For YOVLD read YOVLE.
,, 147. C. E. F. has one reads MORESIDE.
,, 207. *Obv.* For BVRSTOW read BARSTOW.
,, 208. *Rev.* should read NORTHALERTON.
,, 239. *Rev.* For 1667 read 1657.
,, 274. *Rev.* For WAYDE read WAVDE.
,, 275. *Rev.* C. E. F. has one reads SELBY.
,, 280. *Rev.* For SETTLE read SETLE.
,, 284. *Obv.* For BRIGHT read BREIGHT.
,, 288. *Rev.* For SHEFFILD read SHEFEILD.
,, 303. *Obv.* For IN read OF.
,, 322. *Obv.* For HARRISON read HARRISSON.
,, 333. *Obv.* For ALLOT read ALLOTT.
,, 339. *Rev.* For R.M.D. read R.M.B.
,, 343. *Obv.* For HALF read HALFE.
,, 345. *Rev.* For PENY read PENNY.
,, 354. For HALF read HALFE.
,, 365. *Rev.* For CITY read CITTY.
,, 380. *Rev.* For HALF read HALFE.
,, 384. C. E. F. has one reads CITTY OF YORKE.
,, 386. *Obv.* For PHILLIP read PHILLIPP.
,, 389. For SIMPSON read SIMSON.
,, 396. *Rev.* For PENY read PENNY.
,, 400. *Rev.* For HALFE read HALF.

H. S. Gill.

# XIV.

## NOTES TOWARDS A METALLIC HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

### No. V.

### MEDALS OF PRIVATE SCOTTISH PERSONS (*continued from* No. II.).

THERE is a very rare medal of the Marquess of Montrose (1612—1650).

*Obv.*—Bust, full-faced, bareheaded, in armour, with falling collar.

*Rev.*—Plain; but in the Hunterian specimen the following lines are inscribed:—

*Treu pelican' who*
*split his blood*
*To save his king*
*do's country good.*

*Metal*, Æ.

*Size* (oval), $1\frac{9}{10}$ inch.$=49^{m.} \times 1\frac{5}{10}$ inch$=38^{m.}$

*Artist*, unknown.

*Cabinets*, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

This medal is figured by Pinkerton (pl. xxv. fig. 9, p. 75), from Dr. Hunter's specimen.

Of the Duke of Lauderdale (1616—1682) there are two medals.

The earlier is as follows:—

(*a*) *Obv.*—Bust to the left, bareheaded, with flowing hair and falling collar.

IO : METELLANVS · LAVDERIÆ · CO :

Below the bust, A . S.

*Rev.*—Crest of the Earl, with motto, CONSILIO· ET· ANIMIS· and date, 1646.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size* (circular), $1\frac{4}{10}$ inch.=36m.

*Artist*, Abraham Simon. *Cabinet*, MB.

Pl. XII. No. 1.

Figured by Pinkerton, pl. xxv. fig. 6, p. 74.

(*b*) The type of the later and larger medal displays—

*Obv.*—Bust to right, bareheaded, with flowing hair, with armour and lion's head on the shoulder.

*Rev.*—Britannia seated, with spear, and in the left hand displaying the Duke's crest on a helmet; beside her a shield, with the arms of Scotland.

In exergue, 1672; below it—

. *JOAN* . *ROTI* . *F.*

Over the crest—

CONSILIO ET ANIMIS.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, circular, $2\frac{3}{10}$ inch.=63m.

*Artist.*—The obverse of this medal is said to be the work of Bower;[1] the reverse is by John Roettier.[2]

*Cabinets*, MB., Soc. of Ant. of Scotland, author.

Figured by Pinkerton, pl. xxxvi. fig 2, p. 101.

In December, 1699, Captain Campbell, of Finab, in Perthshire, who had served in the regiment raised by the Duke of Argyll in 1689, was sent to Darien by the African and Indian Company of Scotland, and conducted himself with such discretion and bravery, that on his

[1] Walpole's Works (ed. 1798), vol. iii. p. 353.
[2] "Num. Chron.," vol. iii. p. 59.

return the following medal was struck in his honour by the Company, and a special grant of arms was given by the Lord Lyon. A full and particular account of his exploits is given by Nisbet in the first volume of his work on Scottish heraldry.[3]

*Obv.*—The coat of arms specially granted on the occasion, with the mottoes QUA PANDITUR ORBIS above and VIS UNITA FORTIOR below.

*Rev.*—The battle before the fort of Toubocanti. Above, on a scroll—

QUID NON PRO PATRIA.

In the exergue—

TOUBOCANTI UBI
1600 HISPAN FUDIT DUX
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.
MDCC . 8 . FEBR.

*Metals, N. Æ.* Nisbet says one was struck in gold and others in silver (p. 200).

*Size*, circular, $2\frac{11}{50}$ inch.=57$^{m.}$

*Artist*, unknown. *Cabinet*, MB.

Pl. XII. No. 2.

Figured by Nisbet, pl. vi.

On the death of John, second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich,[4] in 1743, the following medal was struck :—

*Obv.*—The bust of the Duke to the right, bareheaded, in cuirass.

IOHANN · CAMPBELL.

*Rev.*—Within an ornamental border—

DUX
DE ARGYLE
ET DE
GREENWICH·
MDCCXLIII.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, circular, $2\frac{1}{50}$ inch. = 55$^{m.}$

*Artist*, Dassier. *Cabinet*, MB.

---

[3] Nisbet, p. 200.

[4] "Douglas Peerage," by Wood, vol. i. p. 109.

Of the same peer a satirical medal was circulated :—

*Obv.*—The duke standing in front of a trophy of flags and arms, leaning on a pillar on which is the ducal coronet.

· THE · GENEROUSE : DUKE : OF : ARGYLE.

On a scroll below—

NO · · PENTIONER.

*Rev.*—The devil leading Sir Robert Walpole into the jaws of a monster.

· · · MAKE · ROOM · FOR · SIR : ROBERT.

In exergue—

NO : EXCISE.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{23}{50}$ inch.=87$^{m}$.

*Artist*, unknown.

Probably struck in 1740 or 1741 ("Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," iii. p. 69).

Pl. XII. No. 8.

Of the famous Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow (1694—1746) a large medal exists, bearing on the—

*Obv.*—The bust, nearly full-faced, in wig and costume of the period.

FRANC . HVTCHESON . PHIL . MOR . IN ACAD . GLASGVÆ . PVB . PROF.

*Rev.*—A figure reclining upon an urn.

NON · SVO · SED · PVBLICO · LVCET · DAMNO.

In exergue—

ST . CS . MDCCXLVI ·

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, circular, $4\frac{8}{50}$ inch.=106$^{m}$.

*Artist*, unknown. *Cabinet*, author.

Mr. George Drummond (1687—1766) was six times Lord Provost of Edinburgh.[5] On the third occasion of his re-election the following medal was struck :—

[5] "Biog. Dic. of Eminent Scotsmen," vol. i. p. 483.

*Obv.*—His bust to the left, in costume of the period, with the Royal Infirmary in the distance.

G. DRUMMOND · ARCHITECT · SCOT · SUMMUS · MAGIS · EDIN · TER · COS ·.

*Rev.*—The arms of the City of Edinburgh.

THE LORD IS ALL OUR TRUST.

Another medal was struck in honour of Mr. James Craig, architect, Edinburgh,[6] in 1767, but I have never seen it.

On the death of the Duke of Athol the following medal was struck:—

*Obv.*—The bust of the duke to right.

IOANNES · MURRAY · ATHOL · DUX ·.

*Rev.*—A female figure sitting weeping.

QUIS · TEMPERET · A · LACHRYMIS.

In exergue—

NAT · VI · MAII · MDCCXXIX
OB · V · NOV · MDCCLXXIV.

*Metals*, Æ., Æ. *Size*, circular, $1\frac{21}{50}$ inch.=37m.
*Artist*, Kirk. *Cabinets*, MB., author.

Pl. XII. No. 4.

There is a bronze medal of David Hume (1711—1776).

*Obv.*—Head to right.

DAVID · HUME · SCOTUS ·

*Rev.*—Winged Genius, seated, with scroll and pen.

FELICITER + AUDET +

In exergue—

NAT · MDCCXI · MORT
MDCCLXXVI ·

*Metals*, Æ., Æ. *Size*, circular, $1\frac{22}{50}$ inch.=39m.
*Artist*, unknown. *Cabinets*, MB., author.

Pl. XII. No. 5.

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[6] "Gent. Mag.," vol. xxxvii.

The earlier is as follows:—

(*a*) *Obv.*—Bust to the left, bareheaded, with flowing hair and falling collar.

IO : METELLANVS · LAVDERIÆ · CO :

Below the bust, A . S.

*Rev.*—Crest of the Earl, with motto, CONSILIO· ET· ANIMIS· and date, 1646.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size* (circular), $1\frac{4}{10}$ inch.=36m.

*Artist*, Abraham Simon. *Cabinet*, MB.

Pl. XII. No. 1.

Figured by Pinkerton, pl. xxv. fig. 6, p. 74.

(*b*) The type of the later and larger medal displays—

*Obv.*—Bust to right, bareheaded, with flowing hair, with armour and lion's head on the shoulder.

*Rev.*—Britannia seated, with spear, and in the left hand displaying the Duke's crest on a helmet; beside her a shield, with the arms of Scotland.

In exergue, 1672; below it—

. *JOAN* . *ROTI* . *F.*

Over the crest—

CONSILIO ET ANIMIS.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, circular, $2\frac{3}{10}$ inch.=63m.

*Artist.*—The obverse of this medal is said to be the work of Bower;[1] the reverse is by John Roettier.[2]

*Cabinets*, MB., Soc. of Ant. of Scotland, author.

Figured by Pinkerton, pl. xxxvi. fig 2, p. 101.

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QUID NON PRO PATRIA.

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TOUBOCANTI UBI
1600 HISPAN FUDIT DUX
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.
MDCC . 8 . FEBR.

*Metals, N. Æ.* Nisbet says one was struck in gold and others in silver (p. 200).

*Size*, circular, $2\frac{11}{50}$ inch.=57$^{m.}$

*Artist*, unknown. *Cabinet*, MB.

Pl. XII. No. 2.

Figured by Nisbet, pl. vi.

On the death of John, second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich,[4] in 1743, the following medal was struck :—

*Obv.*—The bust of the Duke to the right, bareheaded, in cuirass.

IOHANN · CAMPBELL.

*Rev.*—Within an ornamental border—

DUX
DE ARGYLE
ET DE
GREENWICH·
MDCCXLIII.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, circular, $2\frac{7}{50}$ inch. = 55$^{m.}$

*Artist*, Dassier. *Cabinet*, MB.

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[3] Nisbet, p. 200.

[4] "Douglas Peerage," by Wood, vol. i. p. 109.

*Rev.*— FORTITER ET RECTE.

Hercules standing between two pillars.

In exergue—

XIII SEPT
MDCCLXXXII
DROZ F.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, circular, $2\frac{3}{10}$ inch.

*Cabinet*, MB.

Pl. XII. No. 8.

Another :—

*Obv.*— PER TOT DISCRIMINA RERUM.

View of Gibraltar and harbour.

In exergue— XIII SEPT.
MDCCLXXXII.

*Rev.*— BRUDERSCHAFT.

Within laurel wreath—

REDEN
LAMOTTE
FYDOW
ELLIOTT.

Below—

L. PINGO F.

Of the celebrated Dr. William Hunter the following medals exist :—

*Obv.*—His bust to the left.

GVL · HVNTER · ANATOMICVS.

Below—

BURCK · FEC.

*Rev.*—An urn.

OLIM · MEMINISSE · IVVABIT.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, $8\frac{11}{20}$ inch. = $82^{m}$.

*Artist*, Burck. *Cabinet*, author.

Described by Kluskeys.[7]

Another, as Pl. XII. No. 9 :—

*Cabinet*, unknown. Electro in MB.

[7] "Les Hommes célèbres, &c., &c., et leurs Médailles," par Kluskeys (Gand, 1859), vol. ii. p. 53.

SCOTTISH MEDALS PLATE IV.

SCOTTISH MEDALS PLATE IV.

($\frac{3}{4}$ of the actual size)

Another medal was struck in honour of his brother John and Dr. George Fordyce :—

*Obv.*—Their heads to the left.

GEORGIVS . FORDYCE · ET . JOANNES · HVNTER . PATRONI.

Below—

J · MILTON F.

*Rev.*—A serpent erect.

REMOVANDO VIGET · LYCEUM · MEDICVM.

Below—

I . M . TOWER.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, $1\frac{6}{10}$ inch.=42$^{m}$.

*Artists*, Milton and Tower. *Cabinets*,

Described and figured by Kluskeys, vol. i. p. 313.

Another medal of Dr. John Hunter exists :—

*Obv.*—His bust, nearly full-faced.

Along the side—

JOHN HUNTER.

*Rev.*—St. George's Hospital, with figures supporting a patient in front.

Over the head of the right-hand figure—

ΑΝΔΡΑ Α'ΩΦΕΛΕΙΝ [ΚΑLLISTOΣ ΙΠΟΝΩΝ.

In exergue—

S. GEORGES [HOSPITAL.

Below—

I. C. WYON 1850.

*Metal*, Æ. *Size*, $2\frac{1}{5}$ inch=55$^{m}$.

*Artists*—Ob., G. L. Wyon; Rev., I. C. Wyon.

*Cabinet*, author.

I shall be glad to hear of any other Scottish personal medals of date prior to 1790, and propose to continue the catalogue in a future paper down to the present day.

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

## XV.

### A SCHEME OF THE MOHAMMADAN DYNASTIES DURING THE KHALIFATE.

THE table of Mohammadan dynasties which I have here drawn up requires little explanation. Its objects and uses are obvious. It has come to be published because I have tested it during some six years of coin-work, and have found it a decided help; and what is of use to one student in MS. may be of use to many in type. I know from personal experience how difficult it is to keep the relative positions of the various Mohammadan dynasties clearly defined in one's mind; and in the attribution of coins with obscure princes' names it is often essential to bear in mind the whole range of contemporary sovereigns at a given date. The difficulty is considerably reduced when the names of these sovereigns may be collected by merely casting the eye across a chronological-geographical table such as I have constructed. The numismatist will find all the coin-striking dynasties within the limits of time assigned; and the Oriental student in general may find this map of the Mohammadan Empire instructive in its approximate delineation of the relative territorial extent of the various dynasties, its assignment of each dynasty to its proper geographical position in the Muslim world, and its attempt to indicate the interweaving

of the several houses, and their supplanting of one another in the various kingdoms and provinces of the East. It is interesting to trace the gradual absorption of the vast empire of the Khalīfehs from the opposite quarters of Africa and the Oxus provinces. We see how the Khalīfehs of Cordova were the first to divide the authority of the head of the religion, and then how the Idrīsīs, Aghlabīs, Benī Ṭūlūn, Ikhshīdīs, Fāṭīmīs, and many others, destroyed the supremacy of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfehs of Baghdād in their Western provinces, and how, meanwhile, the Persian dynasties of Ṭāhīrīs, Ṣaffāris, Sāmānīs, Zīyārīs, and Buweyhīs gradually advanced from beyond the Oxus, or Mawarannahr, nearer and nearer to the City of Peace, until, when the Buweyhīs entered Baghdād in 334, the Khalīfeh ruled little more than his own palace, and often could not even rule there. Then a fresh change comes over the scene. The Turkish tribes begin to overrun the Mohammadan Empire. The Ghaznawīs establish themselves in Afghanistan, and the Seljūḳs begin their course of conquest, which carried them from Herat to the Mediterranean, and from Bukhāra to the borders of Egypt. When the Seljūḳ rule came to be divided among many branches of the family, and division brought its invariable consequence of weakness, we find several dynasties of Atābegs, or generals of Seljukian armies, springing up in the more western provinces of Syria and Diyarbekr and Irāk, whilst the Shah of Khwārizm founded further East a vast empire, which increased with extraordinary rapidity, and eventually included the greater part of the countries conquered by the Seljūḳs as well as that portion of Afghanistan which the Ghaznawīs, and after them the Ghōrīs, had subdued to their rule. And then comes the greatest change of all. The Mongols

come down from their deserts and carry fire and sword over the whole eastern Mohammadan Empire; the Turkish slaves, or Memlūks, of Saladin found their famous dynasty in Egypt; the Berber houses of Merīn and Ziyān and Ḥafṣ are established along the north coast of Africa; and the Christians are rapidly recovering Andalusia from the Moors, who had given it all the beauty and the renown which Spain could ever boast. And here the epoch is chosen for beginning the second part of the table, which will begin at the Mongol invasion and bring the history down to the present day, and which I hope presently to offer to readers of the "Chronicle."

The table is divided perpendicularly into eight columns, representing Spain, Northern Africa (*i.e.* Marocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli), Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia (including part of Asia Minor), Persia, Transoxiana (or Mawarannahr), and Afghanistan (including a portion of the Punjab). The various dynasties have been placed as nearly as possible, not only under their proper geographical head, but in the proper portion of the space allotted to that head. For example, the Ṣaffārīs ruled in Eastern Persia (Sijistān and Kermān and Khorasān); hence they are placed in that part of the column assigned to Persia which is nearest to Transoxiana and farthest from Mesopotamia. So, too, the Buweyhīs, after beginning their conquests in the provinces of Persia more remote from Baghdād, finally advance step by step upon the capital and occupy it: the gradual conquest is indicated by four steps to the left. Generally speaking, dynasties ruling at different times the same province are placed exactly in the same perpendicular line: but the difficulties of arrangement and the necessity of economising space have brought about a certain number of exceptions. For example, the

Khwārizm Shāhs begin precisely under the place where the Ghaznawīs likewise began: but the latter began in Afghanistan and the former in Khiva. Their position is simply due to the difficulty of finding any separate place for Khwārizm which would not cut some other dynasty into two portions and otherwise interfere with the clearness of the plan. The same remark applies to the Seljūḳs of Rūm, for whom no satisfactory place could be found, and who are therefore very uncomfortably squeezed in beneath the Buweyhīs. Such occasional misplacements are unavoidable in a table of this kind, except at a great sacrifice of space and perspicuity.

Horizontally the table is divided, though the lines are not ruled through, into six-and-a-half centuries, an inch representing one hundred years. The date of the beginning is taken at A.H. 41, the year of the beginning of the Amawī Khalīfehs, because the Mohammadan Empire was never really settled until this house came into power, and it would have been very difficult to indicate in any satisfactory manner the course of Muslim conquest and infidel rebellion. The table ends at the year 700 of the Hijreh, instead of 656, which is the actual date of the abolition of the Eastern Khalifate, because it is desirable to carry the various small dynasties of the seventh century to their ends, and draw the line of Mongol conquest right across the eastern half of the table.

The names and dates of the kings of each dynasty are given in the table, with the exception of those of the First and Second Spanish interregna, the Urtuḳīs, Bektegīnīs, and Saldūḳīs, where there was not space for their insertion. A full list of the numerous princes of the *First Spanish Interregnum* (*i.e.* between the fall of the Amawī Khalīfehs of Cordova and the invasion of the Murābiṭs)

may be seen in Don Francisco Codera y Zaidin's excellent *Tratado de Numismatica Arábigo-española*, pp. 272—279; and the names of the governors who asserted their independence in Andalusia in the *Second Spanish Interregnum* (*i.e.* the few years which elapsed between the decline of the Murābiṭs and the arrival of the Muwaḥḥids in Spain), will be found in the same work at pp. 279 and 280. The dynastic lists of the several branches of *Urtuḳis* may be seen in my *Coins of the Urtuḳi Turkumāns* ("Numismata Orientalia," pt. ii.), or in my *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. iii. pp. 118, 137, 139; and the *Bektegīnīs* are given in the same vol., p. 232, as well as the little that is known of the chronology of the Saldūḳīs, pp. 113 and 114; there also the lists of the *minor branches of the Benī Zengī*, which could not be introduced into the table, may be consulted. Moreover, as the size of the table precludes the possibility of giving all the names, kunyehs and laḳabs, of the various princes that are inserted, the more complete lists in my *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* should be referred to in the following places:—

| Dynasty. | Vol. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Amawī Khalīfehs | i. | xiv |
| 'Abbāsī Khalīfehs | i. | xiv, xv |
| Amawī Khalīfehs of Spain | ii. | 1 |
| Benī Naṣr | ii. | 45 |
| Idrīsīs | ii. | 53[1] |
| Aghlabīs | ii. | 56 |
| Benī Ṭūlūn | ii. | 64 |
| Ikhshīdīs | ii. | 68 |
| Ṭāhirīs | ii. | 72 |
| Ṣaffārīs | ii. | 75 |
| Sāmānīs | ii. | 79[2] |

[1] And in continuation Ibn Khaldun, *Hist. des Berbers*, tr. De Slane, Introduction, p. xxv.

[2] The Khāns of Turkestan are not inserted, on account of the difficulties of their dates and territorial supremacy.

| Dynasty. | Vol. | Page |
|---|---|---|
| Ghaznawīs | ii. | 127 |
| Khwārizm Shāhs | ii. | 181 |
| Buweyhīs | ii. | 191 [3] |
| Ḥamdānīs | iii. | 1 |
| Ziyārīs | iii. | 10 |
| Ḳāḳweyhīs | iii. | 19 |
| 'Oḳeylīs | iii. | 21 |
| Marwānīs | iii. | 23 |
| Seljūḳīs | iii. | 27, 40, 47 |
| Benī Zengī | iii. | 177, 209, 216, 227 |
| Atābegs of Adharbījan | iii. | 240 |
| Selgharīs | iii. | 244 |
| Fāṭimī Khalīfehs | iv. | 1 |
| Ayyūbīs | iv. | 60—63 |
| Memlūks | iv. | 131—6 |
| Murābiṭs | v. | 1 |
| Muwaḥḥids | v. | 31 |
| Late Benī Hūd | v. | 83 |
| Benī Ḥafṣ | v. | 51 |
| Benī Ziyān | v. | 69 |
| Benī Merīn | v. | 58 |

The authorities used for the table are for the most part the same as those employed in drawing up the dynastic lists for the British Museum Catalogue, and duly recorded in the prefaces to the several volumes.

In a table full of minute details it is impossible that all mistakes should have been avoided, and I shall be grateful for any corrections of dates or positions, and for suggestions for any additions that might make a fresh issue of the plate more complete and accurate.

S. Lane-Poole.

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[3] The complications of this dynasty render a reference to this list especially important.

## MISCELLANEA.

LAMIA.—In a paper which appeared in the "Chronicle" for 1878, p. 265, I claimed as a portrait of Lamia, the celebrated courtesan, a head of a remarkable character which appears on rare coins of the city of Lamia. Dr. Friedländer of Berlin has published in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik" (vii. 352) an attack on this view, reasserting his old opinion that the head belongs to Apollo.

In support of this view he asserts that the fillet with which the hair of the head is confined, and which in my paper I called a diadema, is really a taenia. The difference in representations of a diadema and a taenia is, as Dr. Friedländer rightly remarks, that the diadema has ends which hang down behind, and the taenia has none. But though there is but small difference between the two in form, there is the utmost difference in usage. The taenia belongs to the gods, and to successful athletes; the diadema belongs to kings and queens, and does not appear until the time of Alexander the Great. Now the hanging ends which prove that in the present case a diadema and not a taenia is intended are visible in the case of the coin figured in my plate in the "Chronicle." But on another specimen, which is in the British Museum, and has, so far as I am aware, never been engraved, they are so clear and obvious that no one could possibly mistake them. It is then quite certain that the head on the Lamian coin wears the diadema, and from this fact two consequences follow with certainty; first, that the personage represented is regal; secondly, that that personage lived at a later time than that of Alexander the Great. The earring guarantees the female sex of the wearer.

Pollux states in an interesting passage (iv. 153) that it was the mark of a Hetaira to have her hair hanging about her ears in locks. *βοστρύχους ἔχειν περὶ τὰ ὦτα.* These words precisely describe the arrangement of the hair on our coin. Putting all the indications together we find that the personage represented there was a royal personage, but not an acknowledged queen; that she lived soon after the age of Alexander; that she was venerated in Thessaly (when Demetrius was very powerful); finally, that she was connected in a special manner with the city of Lamia.

Taken together, these circumstances entirely justify my attribution; indeed, the chain of evidence is of an exceptionally satisfactory character, and those who would controvert it successfully must use far stronger arguments than those of Dr. Friedländer.

PERCY GARDNER.

## XVI.

## ON SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES OF ILLYRIAN COINS.

In the course of considerable researches at some of the principal sites of ancient Illyria it has been my fortune to come across an altogether new series of coins of Illyrian cities and princes that in some cases throw a welcome light on the pre-Roman history of those regions. In the present paper I shall especially confine myself to the important Illyrian cities of Skodra (Scutari d'Albania), Lissos (Alessio), and Rhizon or Rizinium (Risano), and to the native princes who made use of two at least of these cities as their minting places.

I have recently obtained from an Albanian clansman a small but highly interesting find of coins, mostly autonomous pieces of the Greek Republic of Skodra under Macedonian supremacy, and containing a variety of types hitherto wholly unknown to numismatists. The coins, thirty-eight in number, were found in a small pot in the village of Selci, belonging to the Albanian Highland clan of Klementi. It is a significant fact that among the modern representatives of the Illyrian race who occupy the Alpine district in which this find was discovered, the use of money is at the present day almost unknown; in all commercial transactions among the highlanders barter supplying its place. In the Middle Ages,[1] however, and previous to the Turkish Conquest, there was a lively com-

[1] See Jirechek, *Die Handelstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag., 1879, p. 69.

mercial intercourse between the lowlands of the lake of Scutari and the Adriatic coast cities on the one side, and the Dardanian plains of the interior on the other, through these very Klementi mountains; and the present discovery at this remote Alpine spot of coins of Skodra, Lissos, Apollonia, and Dyrrhachiòn goes far to indicate that the same trade connection existed in the days of the Illyrian kings. The site of the ancient city of Doklea, later known as Dioklea, the birthplace and name-giver (if we are to believe Constantine Porphyrogenitus) of the Emperor Diocletian, occupies the point where this former trade route left the lowlands of the lake for the difficult gorge of the Zem, and the very mountain-saddle of the North Albanian Alps where Selci lies. Doklea itself indeed does not appear in history or monuments till the days when it was a Roman Republic, but the name of the hill fortress of Medun that rises in the immediate neighbourhood bears a suggestive resemblance to that of the Medeon mentioned by Livy in this same district[2] as a principal stronghold of King Gentius or Genthios, and indeed as the last refuge of the Illyrian royal family.

The following is a list of the coins:—

### Selci Find.

#### Autonomous Coins of Skodra, struck apparently under Macedonian Supremacy.

No. of Coins

1. *Obv.*—Macedonian shield; in centre star of volute rays.

   *Rev.*—ΣΚΟΔΡΙΝΩΝ. Heroic helmet, with ear piece, enclosed in olive wreath . . 12

   Pl. I. fig. 1. (Slightly enlarged.) Æ. Weight, 3·433 milligrammes.[3]

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[2] From Livy (lib. xliv. c. 31) it appears that Medeon lay in the Labeatian land, beyond the lake, on the side away from Skodra. In Polybios the name appears as Meteona.

[3] Where possible the average weight of good examples is given.

AUTONOMOUS COIN OF LISSOS.

No. of Coins.

2. *Obv.*—Goat to right.

*Rev.*—ΛΙΣΣΙ[Ω]ΤΑΝ. Above and below a thunderbolt . . . . . 1

Pl. I. fig. 3. Æ. Weight, 1·642 milligrammes.

COINS OF THE ILLYRIAN KING GENTHIOS STRUCK AT SKODRA.

3. *Obv.*—Macedonian shield; in centre star of volute rays, as No. 1.

*Rev.*—(ΒΑΣ)ΙΛΕ (ΩΣ)—ΓΕΝΘΙΟΥ. Above and below heroic helmet. The upper part of one coin, containing the first word of the inscription, is wanting . . . . 2

Pl. I. fig. 4. (Slightly enlarged.) Æ. Weight, 3·300 milligrammes.

4. *Obv.*—Head of King Genthios to right in projecting *kausia;* around his neck is apparently a torque.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ—ΓΕΝΘΙΟΥ. Above and below a galley . . . . . 3

Pl. I. fig. 6. Æ. Weight, 5·333 milligrammes.

COIN OF KING GENTHIOS, PROBABLY STRUCK AT LISSOS.

5. *Obv.*—Helmeted head to right.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣ.... ?—ΓΕΝ. Above and below thunderbolt resembling that on coin of Lissos. 1

Pl. I. fig. 5. Æ. Weight, 2·160 milligrammes.

UNCERTAIN, SKODRA.

6. *Obv.*—Macedonian shield, &c.

*Rev.*—Uncertain inscription above helmet . . 1

Æ. Weight, 3·500 milligrammes.

DYRRHACHION.

| | No. of Coins. |
|---|---|
| 7. *Obv.*—ΑΛΚΑΙΟΣ. Cow suckling calf; in exergue, thunderbolt. | |
| *Rev.*—ΑΡΙΣΤΗΝΟΣ ΔΥΡ. Round quadrangular shield, displaying two thunderbolts, commonly called "The Gardens of Alcinous". | 1 |
| Æ. Weight, 3·420 milligrammes. | |
| 8. *Obv.*—ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ. Same device as No. 7, but no thunderbolt. | |
| *Rev.*—As No. 7 . . . . . | 1 |
| Æ. Weight, 3·300 milligrammes. | |
| 9. *Obv.*—Head of Hercules, in lion's skin, looking left. | |
| *Rev.*—ΔΥΡ—ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ. Bow, club, and spear | 3 |
| Æ. Weight, 1·860 milligrammes. | |
| 10. *Rev.*—ΔΥΡ ΣΩΣΤΡΙ. Same device as 9 . . | 1 |
| Æ. Weight, 2·130 milligrammes. | |
| 11. *Rev.*—ΔΥΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΥ. Same . . | 1 |
| Æ. Weight, 2·000 milligrammes. | |
| 12. *Rev.*—ΔΥΡ ΑΡΙΜΝΑΣΤΟΥ . . . . | 2 |
| Æ. Weight, 2·600 milligrammes. | |
| *Rev.*—Uncertain legend . . . . . | 7 |

APOLLONIA.

| | |
|---|---|
| 13. *Obv.*—ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ. Cow suckling calf. | |
| *Rev.*—ΑΠΟ ΣΩ . . . ΟΥ. As No. 8 . . | 1 |
| Æ. | |
| UNCERTAIN . . . . . | 1 |
| Total . . . . . | 38 |

ANALYSIS OF FIND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Skodra, Autonomous | 13 |
| Lissos, Autonomous | 1 |
| Genthios | 6 |
| Dyrrachion | 16 |
| Apollonia | 1 |
| Uncertain | 1 |
| | 38 |

The most striking features of the find are undoubtedly the autonomous coin of Lissos, of which city no coins have hitherto been discovered, and the Skodran pieces of Macedonian type with or without the name of King Genthios, which will be equally new to the numismatist.

The Greek colony of Lissos had been planted in the fourth century B.C. by Dionysios the Elder, in pursuance, as Diodôros[4] tells us, of his policy of securing Syracusan trade-routes along the Adriatic coasts. At a later period it had passed into the hands of the Illyrian princes.[5] In 211 B.C., Philip V., of Macedon, however, captured its rock-citadel of Akrolissos, the so-called "Cyclopean" walls of which still remain, the marvel of all beholders, and the lower town of Lissos itself was thus compelled to surrender.[6] The town was subsequently recovered by the

[4] Diod., lib. xv. c. 13.

[5] This appears from Polybios (Hist., lib. ii. c. 12). In 228 B.C. the Illyrian Queen Teuta accepted, as part of the terms of peace with Rome, the condition that no more than two Illyrian "lembi" should sail south of Lissos, and those unarmed. Polybios' words are, ἔξω τοῦ Λίσσου, which sufficiently indicate that Lissos itself was retained by the Illyrian Queen. Shortly afterwards, under Demetrius of Pharos, fifty Illyrian lembi sailed forth beyond Lissos to ravage the Kyklades (Pol., iii. 16); later on, ninety (Pol. iv. 16).

[6] For a full description of the siege of Lissos and Akrolissos, see Polybios, Hist., lib. viii. c. xv. There was a small interval between Lissos and its acropolis.

third century the Dardanian Illyrians came to the front, and about 280 B.C. we find their Prince Monunios striking coins at Dyrrhachion. Under the Vardiæan or Ardiæan dynasty, which next assumes the hegemoné among the Illyrian tribes, there is so little question of Macedonian ascendancy, that the whole Illyrian and Epirote coast from Issa and Pharos to Corcyra, with the exception of the great commercial city of Dyrrhachion, appears in King Agron's hands. It was, indeed, the pressure of Illyrian domination on the Greek coast settlements that gave Rome a long-sought opportunity to chastise the Illyrians for their piratic onslaughts on her Brundusian merchantmen. The Greek cities of the coast became welcome *tête-de-ponts* for the Roman invaders of Illyricum, and the first expedition of Consuls Cn. Fulvius and A. Postumius against the Illyrian Queen, Teuta, owed much of its success to the art with which the Republican commanders posed as the champions of Hellenic liberties against the barbarian oppressor.[8]

The peace of 228, by which Queen Teuta was deprived of the part of her dominions that lay south of Lissos, reacted in several ways on the relations between the Illyrians and their Macedonian neighbours. Henceforth the Illyrian Kingdom does not seem capable of standing alone. The astute Greek, Dêmêtrios of Pharos, who as guardian of Queen Teuta's young son and suc-

[8] For the popularity acquired by Rome among the Greeks for her victories over the Illyrians, see Polybios, lib. ii. c. 12. Alluding to the peace concluded with Queen Teuta, he says of the Roman envoys who announced the triumph to the Ætolians and Achæans:—*αὖθις ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἱκανοῦ τινὸς ἀπολελυκότες φόβου τοὺς Ἕλληνας διὰ τὰς προειρημένας συνθήκας. Οὐ γὰρ τισὶν ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τότε κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἶναι συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἰλλυριούς.*

cessor, Pinnes, assumed the position of Lord Protector of the Kingdom, succeeded indeed in recovering the greater part of the Illyrian possessions, including Corcyra itself, but he seems to have been himself so conscious of the inherent weakness of this reconstituted dominion, that he sought to consolidate his success by placing the kingdom under the protection of Antigonos Dôsôn.[9] The final struggle between Rome and Macedon was preparing, and the Illyrian princes began to find themselves in that unpleasant position described as between hammer and anvil. In the invasion of the Macedonian district of Pelagonia by King Skerdilaidas we may perhaps be allowed to trace the influence of Roman intrigue. Philip V., of Macedon, enraged at this violation of his territory, in his turn invaded the Illyrian dominions. He was already threatening Apollonia, when he was deterred by the appearance of a Roman fleet, and with this incident began the first Macedonian war (215 B.C.).

In this war Philip succeeded in seizing by a *coup-de-main* the almost impregnable citadel of Lissos, and that great emporium of the Drin mouth itself; and we read that the impression produced by this event was such that most of the other Illyrian cities submitted to him.[10] It is, therefore, well-nigh certain that Skodra, which is distant from Lissos only five hours, came at this time (211 B.C.) under Philip's dominion. It is true that by the Peace of Phœnikè, in 205 B.C., Philip was compelled to disgorge a part of his Illyrian conquests, including Dimallon, Burgallon, and the country of the Parthini, but the restitu-

[9] Polybios, lib. iii. c. 16.

[10] Polybios, lib. viii. c. 16 :—*Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν παραδόξως εγκρατὴς γενομένος τῶν προειρημένων τόπων ἅπαντας τοὺς πέριξ ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο διὰ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐθελοντὴν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀυτῷ τὰς πόλεις.*

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tion of Lissos, his most important acquisition, is not mentioned, and the fact that in the second Macedonian war the Illyrian King Pleuratos only aided the Romans by land has led Zippel[11] to draw the legitimate conclusion that a part of the Illyrian coast remained at this time in Philip's hands. By the peace of Tempè, however, in 197 B.C., which ensued on the battle of Kynokephalè, Philip was forced to give up all his Illyrian possessions, and it is doubtless to this date that the recovery of Lissos, Skodra, and other lost cities by the Illyrian king is to be referred. It is certain that when Perseus sent his first embassy to secure the alliance of Genthios, who had succeeded Pleuratos, the Macedonian envoy found this Illyrian prince in peaceable possession of both Skodra and Lissos.[12] From these facts we are led to infer that the Macedonian dominion at Skodra, of which we have now numismatic evidence, is to be fixed between the years 211 and 197 B.C.

The character of the coins themselves will be found to tally very exactly with these conclusions. The familiar type of small brass Macedonian pieces, displaying on one side the Macedonian shield, occupying the whole field, and on the other the peaked Macedonian helmet, is first met with in the reign of Pyrrhos between 287-284 B.C. Under Dêmêtrios II. and Antigonos Dôsôn (239-220 B.C.) this type becomes general; but it is not till we reach the reign of Philip V., 220-179 B.C., that we meet with the type that bears the closest resemblance to these Skodran coins. In Philip's reign there first appears in the centre of the shield the characteristic ornament that I have

[11] *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 72.

[12] Polybios, lib. xxviii. c. 8.

described as a star of five volute rays.[13] Another change is also observable in the helmet on the reverse, which on Philip's coins retains no longer its peaked Macedonian shape, and assumes instead an almost Corinthian character. As both the volute star and quasi-Corinthian helmet occur on these autonomous coins of Skodra, we are justified from numismatic evidence alone in referring their issue to the reign of Philip V.

It might no doubt be urged that so far as purely numismatic evidence goes there is nothing to exclude the possibility of these Skodran pieces having been struck after 168 B.C., when on the extinction of the Macedonian kingdom by Roman arms, the Macedonian towns and districts went on striking autonomous coins on which the national shield is an almost universal feature, and the helmet at least occasionally occurs. On this point, however, the voice of history is decisive. After the Roman Conquest of 168, which extinguished the Illyrian kingdom of King Genthios at the same time as it extinguished the Macedonian kingdom of King Perseus, Skodra became an official centre of the tributary Illyrian territories, and certainly could not have issued an autonomous coinage proclaiming it a Macedonian city.

These autonomous Skodran coins, then, with the Mace-

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[13] The star of volute rays described in British Museum Catalogue by Mr. Barclay V. Head as a "wheel-like ornament, with five crescent-shaped rays," also occurs on coins which, from their legend, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, and the absence of royal titles, must be referred to the period immediately succeeding the Roman conquest in 168 B.C. Silver coins of the Bottiæans are known with this device in the centre of the shield on the obverse, and on the reverse the prow of a galley and the legend ΒΟΤΤΕΑΤΩΝ (see cut in British Museum Catalogue, "Macedonia," p. 64), which present an interesting parallel with these Skodran pieces.

donian shield and helmet, may be safely referred to the reign of Philip V., and further, to that period of his reign which extends between his conquest of Lissos and the neighbouring Illyrian cities in 211 B.C., and his expulsion from all his Illyrian possessions by the Peace of Tempè in 197 B.C.

This conclusion at once enables us to fix a date for the interesting coins of the Illyrian King Genthios, now also for the first time brought to light,[14] which except for the legend (ΒΑΣ)ΙΛΕ(ΩΣ) ΓΕΝΘΙΟΥ resemble in every way the autonomous Skodran coins already described. Both in their device and module these coins are so identical with the former that we are justified in inferring that they were struck by the Illyrian king immediately on his recovery of the city, which he seems at once to have made his capital, in 197 B.C., and we are further justified in inferring that at this date Genthios, whose name does not appear in history till the reign of Perseus, had already succeeded his father Pleuratos.

It was not unnatural that Genthios, his power once firmly established in Skodra, should seek to efface the memory of Macedonian supremacy by a coinage which substituted the effigy of himself and the galley of Illyrian naval enterprise for the shield and helmet of the rival kingdom. The larger type of Genthios' issue,[15] which from its being the only variety hitherto known probably extended over a greater number of years than the Macedonian type of his coinage, may therefore be regarded with great plausibility as his second issue.

A fine example of this coin of Genthios, which I have

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[14] List of Selci Find, No. 3, Pl. I. Fig. 4.
[15] Selci Find, No. 4, Pl. I. Figs. 6, 7.

engraved (Pl. I. Fig. 7) side by side with another from the Selci find, exists in the Antiken Kabinet in Vienna. The king apparently wears the Καυσία of Macedonian kings; but the cap, if cap it be, is certainly of peculiar form, and in the Vienna example there appears to be a projecting spiral ornament beneath the brim, both before and behind, which suggests the possibility of the Illyrian king having adopted some such fashion of plaiting the hair into a horn as is at present practised by tribes on the west coast of Africa. Both in the Selci and Vienna examples of this coin a torque appears round the King's neck, curving up under his chin into two terminal ornaments.

In the Antiken Kabinet at Vienna there is another coin of smaller module and without inscription, placed in the collection among specimens labelled "ignoti Adriatici maris," but which may, I think, with considerable probability, be ascribed to King Genthios. On the obverse is a head coifed in a cap of the same flat petasos-like kind as that of King Genthios, but fitted with two appendages apparently meant for wings. The reverse contains a galley. This coin is engraved (Pl. I. Fig. 8).

In module this coin resembles the highly interesting but unfortunately badly preserved coin, No. 5 of the Selci find (Pl. I. Fig. 5), reading on the reverse ΒΑΣ(ΙΛΕΩΣ) (apparently) ΓΕΝ . ., and which from the occurrence of the winged thunderbolt, as on the autonomous coin of Lissos already described, I imagine to have been struck by King Genthios at that city. Lissos, as well as Skodra, was a royal residence.

Apparently about the beginning of his reign, King Perseus of Macedon, true to his policy of enlisting against Rome all the more barbarous borderers of his kingdom,

had dispatched ambassadors with this object to King Genthios. The account of this mission, as given by Polybios,[16] is interesting. The two Macedonian envoys, one of them an Illyrian exile, Pleuratos by name, crossed, we are told, with great difficulty, the passes of the Shar Dagh—it was then known as Mount Skardos—and passing through the Illyrian Desert, a tract not long since laid waste by the Macedonians in order to render difficult the incursions of the Dardanians into Illyria,[17] arrived at Skodra, where they presently received an invitation to an audience with King Genthios, who was then at Lissos. Genthios professed his willingness to accept the proffered alliance, but demanded a subsidy. Perseus promised three hundred talents of silver, but grossly cheated his ally. He had the money duly counted out to the Illyrian envoys at Pella, and allowed them "to stamp it with the stamp of the Illyrians."[18] A special envoy from the Macedonian king then conveyed ten talents at once to King Genthios, who, on receipt of this earnest of his subsidy,

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[16] Pol., lib. xxviii. c. 8.

[17] Οἳ καὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ τὸ Σκάρδον ὄρος διὰ τῆς Ἐρήμου καλουμένης Ἰλλυρίδος, ἣν οὐ πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἀνάστατον ἐποιήσαν Μακεδόνες διὰ τὸ δυσέργους ποιήσαι τοῖς Δαρδανεῦσι τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα εἰσβολάς. (Polybios, lib. xxviii. c. 8.) This "waste," then, must have been made by the Macedonians to protect Illyria, when under their supremacy, from Dardanian invasion.

[18] Livy's words (xliv. c. 23) are, "signare eos (sc. legatos) pecuniam passus," and further on he alludes to money as "pecuniam signatam Illyriorum signo." The phrase can only be construed as signifying that the coins themselves received an Illyrian stamp. On the other hand, the fact that the talents were talents of silver, and that no silver coins of Genthios are known, raises an obvious objection to such an interpretation of Livy's words. It is possible that the coins were Macedonian, but had an Illyrian countermark stamped on them. In that case it would be interesting to discover such.

was prevailed on to incur the implacable hostility of Rome by invading part of Illyricum under Roman protection, and seizing and throwing into prison the Roman ambassadors sent to complain of this hostile conduct. The perfidious Macedonian, however, hearing that the Illyrian king was hopelessly committed to a war with Rome, gave orders to arrest the Illyrian envoys who were conveying the rest of the sum, and whose journey had already been purposely delayed, at the Macedonian frontier.[19]

Rome had already had too good reason to complain of the piratic acts committed by the Illyrian galleys. In 180 B.C. the Prætor L. Duronius had arrived at Rome from Brundusium with the report that King Genthios was the prime mover in piratic enterprise,[20] and the Issans, their Greek colonial allies, had already sent an embassy to complain of ravages of their territory on the part of the King. The day of reckoning had now come. In 168 L. Anicius was sent to chastise Genthios' presumption. It was in vain that the King assembled 15,000 warriors in his city of Lissos to oppose the invader. His personal vices, drunkenness and cruelty, as well as the tyrannic acts of his government, had alienated the affections of his subjects. The maritime cities, Olkinion (Dulcigno) and Rhizon (Risano), as well as several of the subject Illyrian tribes of the interior, at once declared against him. Genthios in despair fell back on Skodra, the capital and chief stronghold of his kingdom,[21] to await within its strong defences the return of his brother

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[19] For Perseus' perfidious treatment of King Genthios, see Livy, lib. xliv. 23; Polybios, xxix. 2; Appian., Mac., xvi.

[20] Livy, xl. 42.

[21] Livy (xliv. c. 31) says Anicius advanced to Skodra "id quod belli caput fuerat, non eo solum quod Gentius eam ceperat

Caravantius, who had been dispatched with a part of the royal forces to make head against domestic rebels. Anicius, wishing to profit by the impression already made, attempted an assault. The impetuous Illyrians, instead of awaiting the attack behind their ramparts, opened the gates and rushed forth on the advancing foes. They were repulsed with great slaughter, and this unsuccessful sally so disheartened King Genthios that he sent two chiefs to beg for three days in which to consider his terms. To the last he had hoped for the return of his brother Caravantius and the forces with him, and the King in his anxiety embarked on a native canoe, and rowing up the river to the great Labeate lake hard by, looked forth on the waters for a sign of his returning galleys from the land beyond. But no bark appeared on the horizon. King Genthios returned to Skodra, and on the third day surrendered at discretion to the Roman general.[22] Anicius followed up this success by capturing Medeon in the land beyond the lake, the last stronghold of the kingdom, where he took the King's brother Caravantius and the remaining members of the Royal family.[23] In thirty days the whole campaign was over, and the tidings of Anicius' triumph reached Rome before it was known that he had set forth. Genthios and the captive princes were transported to Italy and exile, and in 167 B.C. adorned the triumph of L. Anicius "over Genthios and the

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velut regni totius arcem, sed etiam quod Labeatium gentis munitissima longe est et difficilis aditu."

[22] For an account of the siege and Genthios' capture, see Livy, lib. xliv. c. 30, 31.

[23] Viz., Etleva, his wife, and his two sons, Skerdilaidas and Pleuratos (Livy, *loc. cit.*). Genthios had also married Etuta, daughter of Monunios, King of the Dardanians.

Illyrians."[24] The shine, however, was taken out of this Illyrian triumph by the greater triumph of Paullus Æmilius that had preceded it, and, as Livy remarks,[25] "non Gentius Perseo, non Illyrii Macedonibus, non spolia spoliis, non pecunia pecuniæ, non dona donis, comparari poterant."

Two hundred and twenty Illyrian "lembi" were divided among the Dyrrhachians, Apolloniates, and Corcyræans—the chief sufferers from their former piratic craft. Roman præfects were provisionally appointed at Skodra, Olcinium, and Rhizonium, but Rome at present showed no inclination to embarrass her finances with the direct government of these unremunerative Illyrian lands. The former kingdom of Genthios was divided into three divisions, two of which, the Labeate, and that of which Rhizonium in the present Bocche di Cattaro formed the centres, are known. An assembly of Illyrian chiefs and Reguli was summoned to Skodra by Anicius to learn the will of the conquerors as to the political resettlement of the country. The decree of the Senate dealing with King Gentius' subjects, preserved by Livy, is most liberal in its terms, and leaves no doubt as to the policy which Rome was at this time inclined to pursue towards the Illyrians. The Illyrians, we read, were to be free. The Roman garrisons were to be withdrawn from the towns, citadels, and strongholds. The Issans, Taulantians, and the Dassaretian tribe of the Pirustæ, as well as the citizens of Rhizonium and Olcinium, were not only to be free, but were to be exempted from all tribute, as a reward for their timely defection from King Genthios. The Daorsean tribe was to be granted the same immunity for

[24] Livy, xlv. 43; and cf. Polybios, xxx. 13.
[25] *Loc. cit.*

their passing over armed from the King's brother Caravantius to the Romans. The Skodrans, Dassarenses, Sklepitani, and the other Illyrians were to pay half the tribute which they had formerly paid to the King.[26] We hear no more of Roman præfects, and the real position of the Illyrians with regard to Rome continued for long to be that of allied and tributary clans and cities represented at the Senate by their accredited envoys. Rome for the present contented herself with having demolished the fabric of Illyrian unity: it was not till the next century that Illyricum was formally reduced to a Roman province.

It follows from all this that there is no reason for supposing that Anicius' triumph over King Genthios would have put an end to the autonomous coinage of Illyrian cities, or even that of allied princes. Already, in 229 B.C., the great Illyrian commercial cities of Apollonia and Dyrrhachion had passed under Roman protectorate on terms of perpetual alliance; but they had still continued to strike their own money, and Rome herself had adopted the Dyrrhachian and Apolloniate standard for her new Victoriati, which were made to weigh a third of the Illyrian tridrachms.[27] Livy informs us[28] that 120,000 pieces of Illyrian silver formed part of the loot on King Genthios' conquest, and the silver coins of Dyrrhachion and Apollonia associated with the small brass pieces of the Illyrian king himself in the Selci find sufficiently indicate the minting-places of the *argentum Illyrium* alluded to by the historian.

Skodra, as we have seen, was not unkindly treated

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[26] Livy, lib. xlv. c. 26, *Decretum de Illyriis.*

[27] Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine, traduite de l'allemand par le Duc de Blacas*, t. iii. p. 98.

[28] xlv. 43.

by her conqueror, who relieved her citizens of half the tribute which they had hitherto paid to their native ruler, and the respect shown to the Illyrian mints at Dyrrhachion and Apollonia makes it highly improbable that the Romans should have suppressed that of the Illyrian capital. There can therefore be no *a priori* objection to our referring the autonomous coins of Skodra, of the type Pl. I. fig. 2, known to numismatists at least since Eckhel's days, to the period immediately succeeding the fall of Genthios and the temporary occupation of the city by the Roman prætor. The character of the coins themselves is indeed such as to leave no doubt that they belong to a period immediately preceding or succeeding the reign of Genthios. Except for the absence of the King's name, and the substitution of that of the Skodran community and their civic magistrates, the reverse of these coins with its galley device is identical with that of Genthios' later issue (Pl. I. fig. 6), which they resemble also in weight and module. I have already adduced good reasons for believing that the autonomous type of Skodran coin which immediately preceded the series of King Genthios was that which bears the shield and helmet of Macedonian supremacy. We are left, therefore, to infer that these galley coins of Skodra were struck immediately after Genthios' captivity.[29] The citizens of Skodra, in

[29] Although in so small a find too much stress must not be laid on purely negative evidence, it is yet significant that in the Selci hoard, although there were present several examples of the hitherto unknown Macedonian type of autonomous Skodran coins, as well as coins of King Genthios, on the other hand no single example of this known and therefore, probably, more abundant class of Skodran coin with the galley on the reverse should have occurred. The natural inference from this fact is that the galley coins of Skodra were struck *after* Genthios' captivity.

fact, seem to have profited by the Roman triumph over their domestic tyrant to revert to an autonomous coinage; and their action in this respect finds a close contemporary parallel in that of the Macedonian towns and districts who on Perseus' overthrow began, with the permission of their conquerors, to strike coins in the name of their own commonwealths.

Of this second autonomous issue of Skodra, struck after 168 B.C., I am able to describe two or three varieties.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right.

   *Rev.*—ΣΚΟΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ Λ . . ΥΜΩΝΟ[Σ]? Galley, as on coins of Genthios.

   Found near Scutari (Skodra).

2. *Obv.*—Same.

   *Rev.*—ΔΛ . . ΝΟΣ ΣΚΟΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ. Galley as before.

   Found near Ragusa. Pl. I. fig. 2.

3. *Obv.*—Same.

   *Rev.*—ΣΚΟΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Same device.

   (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Ill.*, ii. p. 158.)

4. *Obv.*—Same.

   *Rev.*—ΣΚΟΔΡΙΝΟΝ . . . ΟΡΟΥ.

   (Eckhel, *loc. cit.* ? ΣΚΟΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ.)

5. *Obv.*—Same.

   *Rev.*—ΣΚΟΔΡΕΙΝΩΝ. Above, galley; beneath it name of magistrate, but indecipherable.

   In the British Museum.

In discussing the coins of Genthios there is at least some historic basis for the argument. There is, however, a series of coins of an Illyrian king, by name Ballæos, of

whom we have no historic information. Large numbers of coins of this prince, discovered in the Isle of Lesina—where the ancient Parian colony of Pharia was situated—have been described by Professor Gliubich[30] and others. The date of Ballæos has been vaguely placed by this and other numismatic writers about the time of Alexander the Great; but no trustworthy data have been put forward in support of this supposition.

A variety of excavations and researches carried out on the site of the old Illyrian city of Rhizonium has now supplied me with some numismatic evidence which may help to clear up the vexed question of the place of Ballæos in Illyrian history.

It is in 229 B.C., during the first Roman invasion of Illyria, that Rhizon, or Rhizonion, first appears in history as a great Illyrian stronghold. In that year the Queen Teuta, whose piratic "lembi" had been long the terror of Adriatic waters, forced to fly from the combined attack of Consuls Cn. Fulvius and A. Postumius by land and sea, took refuge at Rhizon, according to Polybios "a small city, strongly fortified, removed from the sea, but situated on the river Rhizon."[31] The expression "removed from the sea," and the mention of a river of the same name as the town, have caused a good deal of quite unnecessary difficulty to critics and commentators; and Sir Gardner Wilkinson[32] and others have been led to seek for the refuge city of the Illyrian queen some-

[30] *Numografia Dalmata* (1850), in *Archiv für Kunde oesterreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, 1853. The first writer who settled the Illyrian attribution of coins reading ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΣ was Neumann in his *Populorum Numismata*. He had obtained 20 coins of this prince from Skutari (Skodra).

[31] Πολισμάτιον εὖ πρὸς ὀχυρότητα κατασκευασμένον, ἀνακεχωρηκὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ κείμενον τῷ Ῥίζωνι ποταμῷ. (Polybios, ii. 11.)

[32] *Dalmatia*, vol. ii. p. 434.

where in the interior of the country. There can be no doubt, however, that the Illyrian Rhizon, or Rhizonium, is identical, in site as in name, with the later Roman colony which gave its name to the Rhizonic Gulf, the modern Bocche di Cattaro, and which still prolongs a municipal continuity in the little town of Risano. To the early Greek navigators the Rhizonic Gulf, from whose sinuous and hidden depths the piratic craft of Illyrian mainlanders darted forth on their coasting traders, seems to have been known, *par excellence*, as "the Illyrian river," in whose neighbourhood, it was said, were to be seen the rock-built tombs of Kadmos and Harmonia. Here, according to the saga, when the Colchian pursuers of the Argonauts were wearied with their chase, a part of them landed and built themselves a stronghold:

> Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυρικοῖο μελαμβαθέος ποταμοῖο,
> Τύμβος ἵν' Ἁρμονιής Καδμοιότε, πύργον ἔδειμαν
> Ἄνδρασιν Ἐγχελέεσσιν ἐφέστιοι.[33]

When we seek information as to the position of these Encheleans, Skylax informs us that they lay on the Rhizonic Gulf,[34] and as if to leave us in no doubt as to what is meant by the "Illyrian river" of Apollônios' saga, the same writer places the "rocks and temple" of Kadmos and Harmonia "ἄπωθεν τοῦ Ῥίζοῦντος ποταμοῦ."[35]

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[33] Apollônios Rhod., 4, 517.

[34] According to Skylax, this Illyrian tribe extended from the Rhizonic Gulf to Dyrrhachion. At a later period they seem to have shifted south. In 217 B.C. they are found near the Lychnid Lake (Polybios, v. 108, 8).

[35] Skylax, 24. As is well known, other cities and spots along the east Adriatic coast claimed to have these monuments in their neighbourhood. It seems, however, probable that Apollônios, when he wrote, was thinking of the passage of Skylax, and that had he been writing prose, he would have described the Illy-

No one, indeed, familiar with the view of that long firth of inland sea, once literally a river valley, as it winds away from Risano beneath the shadow of overhanging mountains like a broad unfathomed stream, can be long in doubt as to what ancient writers meant by the *Rhizon Potamos*, or the "dark-pooled Illyrian river."

If any doubt still remains as to the identity of Queen Teuta's Rhizon with the later Roman city, the excavations and explorations that I have made on the spot at Risano, including the discovery of two autonomous coins of Rhizonium itself, will probably be accepted as conclusive on this point. At Risano a small torrent, which bursts from a cavern in the mountain about a quarter of a mile inland, runs into the sea, and in the low-lying fields on either side of its course are to be found ample remains of the ancient city. At a depth of about ten feet beneath the present surface I have, at different times, layed bare the basement floors of houses and the pavements of narrow streets, while Roman remains, inscriptions, coins, pottery and glass abound. What, however, is remarkable is the extraordinary large proportion of Illyrian coins, almost exclusively belonging to King Ballæos, which are to be found associated with objects of undoubted Roman fabric. Of the abundance of these Illyrian coins a single fact will give some idea. To the right of the small Risano torrent is a field near the sea where I have picked up with my own hands half-a-dozen small

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rian river as that of Rhizon. The monuments of Kadmos and Harmonia were probably gigantic stone barrows, such as are to be found all along this coast. This would sufficiently explain the reappearance of the legend at various spots. I have myself seen some of these "Illyrian pyramids," as they might almost be called, in the mountains above Risano. On this subject, however, I hope to say more elsewhere.

brass pieces of King Ballæos in the course of less than an hour.

The coins are mostly, owing to the character of the soil, in bad condition; but as over a hundred Illyrian coins found on the site of Rhizonium have now passed through my hands, I am able to describe some of considerable interest, including whole classes altogether new to numismatists. They may be conveniently divided into four classes.

1. Autonomous coins of Rhizon hitherto unknown.
2. Coins of Ballæos, showing the influence of Greek art, and with the king's name inscribed.
3. Barbarous degenerations of Ballæos coinage.
4. Coins probably of a successor of Ballæos, in which Roman influence is distinctly traceable. Never before described.

## Illyrian Coins found at Risano.

### I. Autonomous Coins of Rhizon.

1. *Obv.*—Apparently bearded head of Zeus.

   *Rev.*—PIΣO in two lines within olive wreath.

   Pl. I. fig. 9. Æ. Weight, 1·450 milligrammes.

2. *Obv.*—Beardless male head.

   *Rev.*—ΙΣΟΙΙ . TAN (? PIΣONITAN). Artemis holding bow and advancing to left, as on coins of Ballæos.

   Pl. I. fig. 10. Æ. Weight, 1·200 milligrammes.

### II. Coins of Ballæos,

Showing the influence of Greek art, and with the king's name inscribed.

1. *Obv.*—King's head to right.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ. Artemis, with quiver behind her head, advancing to left, and holding bow (sometimes a quiver) in her right hand; the buskins on her legs very distinguishable.

Pl. II. fig. 1. Æ. Weight, 2·100 milligrammes.

2. *Obv.*—King's head to left, in different style.

*Rev.*—[Β]ΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟ[Υ]. Artemis, as before, but much effaced.

Pl. II. fig. 2. Æ. Weight, 2·100 milligrammes.

3. *Obv.*—King's head to left, in another style.

*Rev.*—[Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [Β]ΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ. Artemis, as before.

Pl. II. fig. 3. Æ. Weight, 2·700 milligrammes.

4. *Obv.*—Smaller head of king to right.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΛΛΑΙ ΟΥ. Artemis standing facing, neither quiver nor buskins apparent; she holds in her right hand a bow and in her left an arrow. Pharian type.

Pl. II. fig. 6. Æ. Weight, 1·900 milligrammes.

5. *Obv.*—Large head of waving hair.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟ[Υ]. Artemis, as Nos. 1—3, but in coarser style; two shafts behind her head.

Pl. II. fig. 4. Æ. Weight, 2·970 milligrammes.

III. Barbarous Degenerations of Ballæos Coinage.

1. *Obv.*—Barbarous head covering the whole field.

*Rev.*—Legend degenerated into a row of four arrow-head-like figures; barbarous rendering of Artemis, with two shafts behind her head.

Pl. II. fig. 8. Æ. Weight, 2·200 milligrammes.

2. *Obv.*—Head as before, hair becoming a wavy ornament.

*Rev.*—Two-headed figure of Artemis.

Pl. II. fig. 9. Æ. Weight, 2·200 milligrammes.

3. *Obv.*—Hair in the ornamental stage of barbarous degeneration such as is characteristic of certain ancient British coins.

*Rev.*—Barbarous figure of Artemis advancing to left.

Pl. II. fig. 10. Æ. Weight, 2·000 milligrammes.

IV. Coins of a Successor of Ballæos, showing Roman Influence.

1. *Obv.*—Helmeted head to right, as that of Virtus on denarii of Aquillia family, &c.

*Rev.*—· · MYΛ · ·. Artemis holding bow in right hand.

Pl. II. fig. 11. Æ. Weight, 1·500 milligrammes.

2. *Obv.*—Helmeted head, resembling that of Pallas on ordinary Roman consular denarii.

*Rev.*—·MYN. Artemis advancing to right, holding bow.

Pl. II. fig. 12. Æ. Weight, 1·000 milligrammes.

3. *Obv.*—Head apparently imitated from that of Libertas on coins of the Porcian and other consular families.

*Rev.*—MYN ? Artemis, as before.

Pl. II. fig. 13. Æ. Weight, 1·500 milligrammes.

4. *Obv.*—Helmeted head, like that of Pallas on consular denarii (as No. 2).

*Rev.*—[BΑΣΙ]ΛΕ[ΩΣ] ? . . . . Artemis advancing to right.

Pl. II. fig. 15. Æ. In Agram Museum, probably from Risano.

5. *Obv.*—Head, apparently copied from that of Libertas on Roman consular denarii.

*Rev.*—Artemis ; as before, legend indecipherable.

Pl. II. fig. 14. Æ. Weight, 2·600 milligrammes.

It is not too much to say that this selection of types found on the site of ancient Rhizon throws an entirely new light on Illyrian numismatics. The two autonomous coins of the city itself which head the list are by themselves sufficient to enable us to add Rhizon to the list of Illyrian mints. The two coins, however, seem to belong to different epochs. The first example reading **PIΣO**, which I had the good fortune to pick up at Risano with my own hands, from its style as well as from the absence of Artemis on the reverse, may, with great probability, be referred to a time anterior to the reign of Ballæos, and if I am right in describing the head on the obverse as that of Zeus, presents some analogy with the autonomous coins of Skodra struck after the fall of King Genthios. As we know that Rhizon was rewarded for her secession from that king with complete liberty and immunity from tribute, and was placed indeed in a more favourable position in this respect than Skodra itself, there is a certain *a priori* probability that this Rhizonian coin was struck on the occasion of the recovered liberty of the city in 168 B.C.

The second coin, the legend on which is unfortunately in parts uncertain, but which appears to read **PIΣAN-ΩTAN**, resembles both in weight, module, and the Artemis device of its reverse, the coins of Ballæos' successor or successors. Both coins afford interesting evidence that the commonwealth of Roman Rizonium, afterwards the chief city of this part of the coast, and the name-giver of the gulf, dates back to the days of Illyrian kings. Even in its later Roman stage of existence this city, as the Illyrian names on the inscriptions show, was largely made up of aboriginal elements. It was, in fact, the seaport and market-town of the Alpine lands beyond, which

at present go to make up Montenegro and Herzegovina, and to-day find their havens at Cattaro and Ragusa.

In classifying the coins of King Ballæos found at Risano, I have passed over trifling varieties in the design, and have contented myself with enumerating the prevailing types.

It is abundantly evident, not only from the frequency of the coins themselves on this site, but from the fragments of uncoined brass which have been found associated with them, that Rhizon, or Rhizonium, was a mint of King Ballæos. The similarly abundant discovery of coins of this prince in the Isle of Lesina, about the site of the ancient Pharia, had long led Dalmatian antiquaries to recognise that that city was a minting-place of Ballæos; and this fact was rendered certain by the discovery of a coin in Lesina in which the Pharian stamp is seen half effaced by that of a moneyer of the Illyrian prince.[36]

By a comparison of a large number of coins of Ballæos found at Risano with a collection of coins of the same king from Lesina, I am able to distinguish two distinct types of his coinage—the Rhizonian type and the Pharian. Coins of the Rhizonian type, of course, occasionally occur in Lesina, and conversely those of the Pharian type are not unfrequently found at Risano; but there can be no doubt as to the different character of the prevailing type of these two sites.

On the Pharian examples Artemis, as a rule, is a far stiffer figure than on those from Rhizon, and instead of hurrying forward stands facing the spectator. The drapery hangs instead of floating behind the goddess. The quiver on the shoulder is not so apparent, and on

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[36] Cf. Prof. Simeone Gliubich, *Numografia Dalmata.*

the right hand of the goddess appears a spear-like arrow. The breasts are given with great distinctness; on the other hand, the buskins are not so apparent as on the Rhizonian coins. The legend is ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ. Professor Giacomo Boglich, of Lesina, has remarked[37] on the rarity of coins of Ballæos reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ—among those discovered on that island—the ancient Pharia. It is, therefore, not improbable that the few that have been found there had found their way from the king's Rhizonian mint.

On the other hand, among the coins of Ballæos from Risano ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ almost invariably appears on the legend, and examples like No. 4, which is what I venture to denominate the Pharian type, are as rare on the site of Rhizon as the other types, Nos. 1—3, are common. In order to give another example of these Pharian coins, I have engraved, Pl. II. fig. 7, a fine specimen now in the Museum at Agram, slightly differing in the arrangement of the legend from No. 4. It is further to be observed that the coins from Lesina are almost always of smaller module than those from Risano.

It will be seen, therefore, that the moneyers of Rhizon and Pharia have taken as their starting-point two different conceptions of Artemis as rendered by Greek sculptors. The finest example of pure Greek art on a coin of King Ballæos is, so far as I am aware, the beautiful coin in the British Museum (Pl. II. fig. 5), which, by the kindness of the Curators of the Medal-room, I am now enabled to publish. The obverse presents a portrait of the king's head, with a fine-cut aquiline nose, such as is still the characteristic of the Albanian descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and features in a style of art which recalls

[37] *Studi Storici sull' Isola di Lesina*, p. 18.

the coins of the Seleukidæ of the third and second centuries B.C. The legend on the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΛΛΑΙΟΥ, is written *boustrophedon*. Artemis is represented advancing to the left as on the generality of Rhizonian specimens; in her left hand she holds a torch, and in her right two lances. The coin is of base silver, the only example that has come to my knowledge of a coin of Ballæos of any metal but copper, and weighs 3·498 milligrammes.

It would be interesting to know whether the two shafts behind the head of the goddess, which in this and other Illyrian renderings of the design persistently supply the place of the quiver in the Greek originals,[38] may not have some reference to the special cult of the Illyrian Artemis. It is significant that the Thracian goddess Bendis, who was accepted by the Greeks as Artemis, received the distinguishing epithet of δίλογχος,[39] "of the two lances," and it must be remembered that the Southern Illyrians were largely mixed with Thracian elements.

The barbarous degenerations of Ballæos' coins, of which I have given two or three characteristic and often-recurring types, are extremely abundant at Risano, and present obvious analogies with similar ornamental developments on ancient British and other Celtic coins. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the Rhizonian aborigines themselves were in any sense Celtic, as undoubtedly were some of the tribes of more northern Illyricum. The personal names of citizens discovered on monuments of Roman date on this site, when not Latin or Greek, are characteristically Illyrian.

[38] See Plate II. fig. 5.

[39] Hesychios, *s. v.* δίλογχος. Strabo, Geog. lib. x.

In determining the approximate date of King Ballæos, the coins which I have collected in Class IV., and which appear to have hitherto escaped the notice of numismatic students, afford new and valuable evidence. These coins, which though generally of lighter weight and lesser module, are obviously, as their reverse shows, the immediate successors of the Ballæan issues, display helmeted heads on their obverse, copied from those of Pallas and Libertas on Roman denarii, and, therefore, belong to a period when Roman influence was becoming paramount on the East Adriatic shore. The legend MYN and MY, to be deciphered on two of these coins, is probably part of the name of a prince; but it would be wise to wait for the discovery of more perfect examples of this type of coin before venturing to complete the legend as *Amyntas* or *Amynandros*.[40]

The discovery of these Illyrian coins fitting on the series of King Ballæos, and strongly marked with Roman influence, must at once dispose of the theory that Ballæos was a predecessor of Queen Teuta. It was during Queen Teuta's reign that Rome was first brought into direct contact with the Illyrians, and the Roman influence on the East Adriatic shores was still so small that, as we have seen, the coins of King Genthios, already the fourth Illyrian prince in descent after Teuta, are in their character purely Greek. On the other hand, though we are unable to learn from historical sources when Ballæos may have reigned at Rhizon or Pharia, history affords us sufficient evidence as to a period when he could not have reigned at either of these two cities. There is no

[40] An Amynandros is mentioned in 198 B.C. as a prince of the Athamanes, an Illyrian tribe.

# XVII.

## ON A HIMYARITIC TETRADRACHM AND THE TRÉSOR DE SAN'Â.

وَمُلُوكُ حِمْيَرَ أَلْفُ مَلْكٍ أَصْبَحُوا
فِي ٱلتُّرْبِ رَهْنَ ضَرَائِحٍ وَصِفَاحِ
أَثَارُهُمُ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ تُخْبِرُنَا بِهِم
وَٱلْكُتْبُ فِي سِيَرٍ تَقِضُّ صِحَاحِ

"And the kings of Himyar? A thousand kings have betaken themselves to the dust to rest in graves beneath slabs of stones. Their monuments in the land give us information of them, and the books in their stories record the truth."—NESHWÂN IBN SA'ID, *Lay of the Himyarites.* Ed. Prideaux.

I HAVE much pleasure in making known to Numismatists, and especially to the small circle of Sabæan scholars, an important Himyaritic coin which I have lately discovered in the collection of Greek coins in the University of Aberdeen. It may be described as follows:—

### TETRADRACHM.

*Obv.*—Head of Heracles right, in lion's skin; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ᑐᘓᕿᑎᕵ (اب يثع) in the Himyaritic character. Figure imitated from or rather suggested by the Zeus on the coins of Alexander seated left on throne, his feet on footstool. He rests with his left arm on sceptre. The upper part of

room for doubting that Teuta's successors, including Genthios down to the last moments of his reign, ruled over the whole of the coastland and islands from Lissos to Pharia; indeed, even the Dalmatæ beyond had obeyed Genthios' father. The defection of Rhizon from Genthios is expressly mentioned by Livy, and there is, therefore, during the whole period which extends from 230 to 167 B.C., no room for the independent sovereignty of Ballæos in this territory.

The reign of Ballæos must, therefore, be fixed some time after 167 B.C.; while, on the other hand, the wholly Greek character of coins, such as the silver piece of Ballæos in the British Museum, preclude the possibility of their having been struck much later than this date.

We receive, indeed, a significant hint from historians that soon after Genthios' captivity the old Ardiæan sovereignty was revived on this part of the coast. Rhizon, which had before provided a refuge for the vanquished Queen Teuta, may very well, when the first impression of Anicius' cheaply-won victory had faded away, have again become a stronghold of Illyrian independence under some remaining scion of the royal house. Certain it is that in 135 B.C. the Ardiæi, whose royal line had hitherto supplied the race of Illyrian kings, had become once more so formidable by reason of their piracy and brigandage that Consul Flaccus in that year was constrained to undertake their thorough subjugation; and it is equally certain that these Ardiæans and their allies the Pleræans were the two mainland tribes whose territory bordered[41] on the gulf and city of

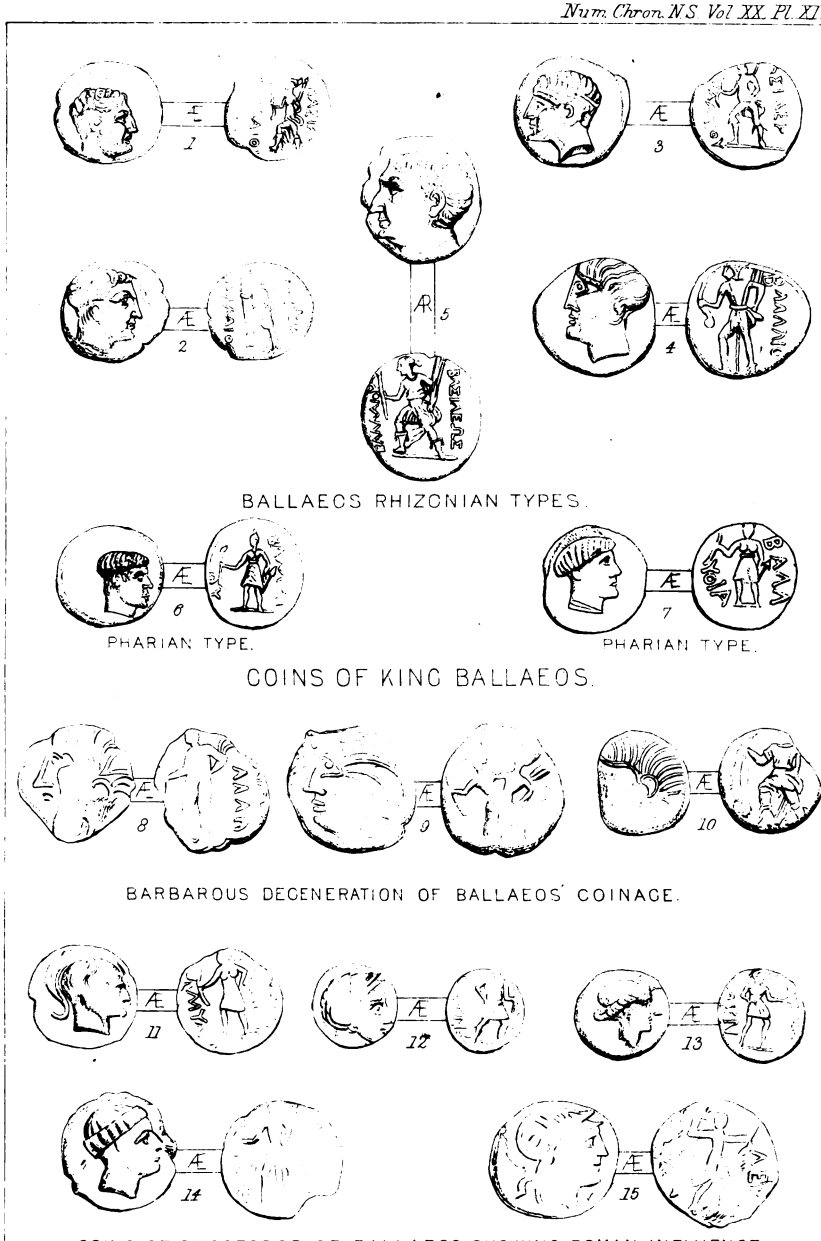
[41] See Strabo, Geog. lib. vii. (Oxon ii. 1807, T. I., p. 456).

Rhizon and town and island of Pharia, the two minting-places of Ballæos.

The conquest of Flaccus in 135 B.C. forms a limit beyond which it would be unsafe to place a king like Ballæos striking coins on purely Greek models. On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that the coins reading MYN, and displaying on their obverse, in place of the king's head, the familiar Roma of Roman consular denarii, may have been struck by some *regulus* who had succeeded Ballæos under the more direct tutelage of Rome. Illyricum does not appear in history as formally reduced to a Roman province till B.C. 59, when it is mentioned as an annexe of Cis-Alpine Gaul; but throughout the century that preceded this formal act, the Romanisation of the Illyrian littoral had been steadily perfecting itself. Long before Roman colonies had been officially planted in the great coast-cities of Illyricum, Roman merchants, who have left their epigraphic traces, were already settled in them. The numbers of consular denarii that come to light, even in remote parts of the Dalmatian interior, attest considerable commercial connection with Italy, and nothing was more natural than that the Illyrian moneyers should have imitated in their brass domestic issue the Roman consular pieces, which had now supplanted in their commerce the earlier silver currency of Macedon and the Greek coast-cities. From the continually recurring discovery of coins of Ballæos at Risano, associated with undoubtedly Roman remains, it is highly probable that already in his days Rhizon was fast becoming a Roman city. The coins of his successor are by themselves sufficient proof that by that time the Romans had ousted the Greeks as the pioneers of commerce and civilisation in this part of the Illyrian coast.

In fine, the series of Illyrian coins now discovered from the mints of Skodra and Rhizon shows us the two ends and some of the intervening links of a long chain of foreign influence. The earlier issue of King Genthios displays the shield and helmet of Macedon; the coins of the unknown prince, whom we may justly look upon as the last of his successors, bear upon them the tutelary divinities of Republican Rome.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.




BALLAEOS RHIZONIAN TYPES.

PHARIAN TYPE.

PHARIAN TYPE.

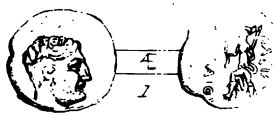
COINS OF KING BALLAEOS.

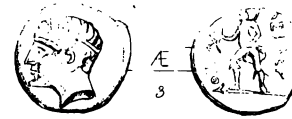
BARBAROUS DEGENERATION OF BALLAEOS' COINAGE.

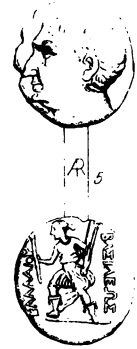
COINS OF SUCCESSOR OF BALLAEOS SHOWING ROMAN INFLUENCE.

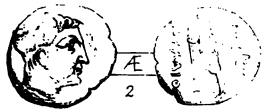
T. S. Lees

ILLYRIAN COINS. PL. II.



BALLAEOS RHIZONIAN TYPES.

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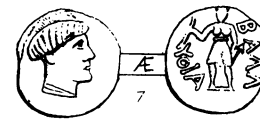
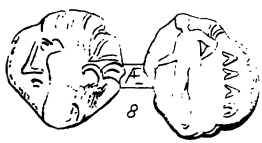
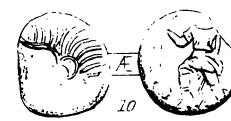


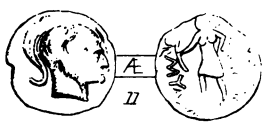

PHARIAN TYPE.

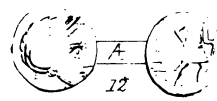
COINS OF KING BALLAEOS.

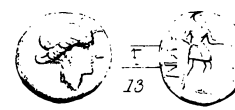


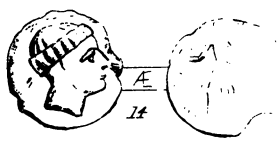


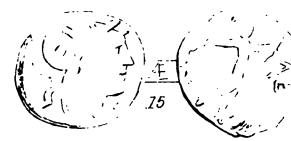

BARBAROUS DEGENERATION OF BALLAEOS' COINAGE




COINS OF SUCCESSOR OF BALLAEOS SHOWING ROMAN INFLUENCE.

T. J. Lees

ILLYRIAN COINS. PL. II.

# XVII.

## ON A HIMYARITIC TETRADRACHM AND THE TRÉSOR DE SAN'Â.

وَمُلُوكُ حِمْيَرَ أَلْفُ مَلْكٍ أَصْبَحُوا
فِي ٱلتُّرْبِ رَهْنَ ضَرَائِحٍ وَصِفَاحِ
أَثَارُهُمُ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ تُخْبِرُنَا بِهِم
وَٱلْكُتْبُ فِي سِيَرٍ تَقِضُّ صِحَاحِ

"And the kings of Himyar? A thousand kings have betaken themselves to the dust to rest in graves beneath slabs of stones. Their monuments in the land give us information of them, and the books in their stories record the truth."—NESHWÂN IBN SA'ID, *Lay of the Himyarites.* Ed. Prideaux.

I HAVE much pleasure in making known to Numismatists, and especially to the small circle of Sabæan scholars, an important Himyaritic coin which I have lately discovered in the collection of Greek coins in the University of Aberdeen. It may be described as follows:—

TETRADRACHM.

*Obv.*—Head of Heracles right, in lion's skin; border of dots.

*Rev.*—ⵔⵓⵖⵢⵃ (اب يثع) in the Himyaritic character. Figure imitated from or rather suggested by the Zeus on the coins of Alexander seated left on throne, his feet on footstool. He rests with his left arm on sceptre. The upper part of

his body naked, the lower limbs draped. The face is beardless, and the hair falls in curls, in the Arab fashion. In his right hand, instead of the eagle, he holds apparently a flower. Outside the inscription and parallel with the sceptre is a long perpendicular line of dots. In the field in front of the figure is the Himyaritic letter ا (*Alif*).

Æ. 8½. Wt. 258 grs.

This very remarkable piece was purchased at a sale in London by the late H. N. Davis, Esq., simply as a barbarous Alexander.

The inscription was recognised by no one as being in the Himyaritic character until I saw the coin last year when the University of Aberdeen acquired the Davis Collection.

Although it is of course quite evident that this coin is of barbarous work, it is, nevertheless, so well and carefully executed, especially on the obverse, that it is even possible to assign a date to it.

Both in style and fabric it is a close imitation of one of the tetradrachms of Alexander, of Class V. of Müller. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we assert that the original coin which served as a model to the Arab artist was struck about B.C. 200.

Here, then, we possess a valuable chronological datum. The existence of this Himyarite copy of a Greek coin, struck circ. B.C. 200, proves that about that period the influence of Alexander's enormous international currency had made itself felt even in the remote kingdoms of Southern Arabia to such a degree as to induce the monarch then reigning there to change the ancient Persic standard of weight (which we know from other coins, cf. Num. Chron. N.S., vol. xviii. p. 282, to have been in use in Himyarite the kingdom in the fourth

century B.C.) and to adopt the Attic weight of Alexander's currency.

It likewise proves that at this early period the Himyarite characters were fully developed on the coinage; and finally it gives us the name of a king, Ab-yatha', who is, I believe, quite unknown to history.

It is also highly interesting from an artistic point of view, as showing the high stage to which imitative art had attained in Yemen, and consequently the far-reaching influence of Greek art, which spread like a wave over the whole ancient world.

Other instances of this imitative faculty are, however, not wanting at even an earlier period, on the Himyaritic copies of Athenian coins of the fourth century already referred to.

This tetradrachm of Ab-yatha' is, however, no mere servile imitation of Alexander's coinage. The figure on the reverse is intentionally altered and adapted to the ideas of the people for whom it was designed. Thus the bearded head of Zeus is replaced by a beardless face, and the arrangement of the hair in curls is very distinctive of Arab fashion.

Whether the figure represents a god or a king I am unable positively to decide, but I am strongly inclined to look upon it as one of the Sabæan deities, probably a solar god holding in his hand a flower which has been deliberately substituted for the eagle in the hand of Zeus on the Alexandrine prototype.

The chance discovery of this important monument of Himyaritic history and art leads me to hope that among the multitudinous varieties of the coins of Alexander scattered throughout Europe in various public and private collections this may not be the only one bearing a Himyaritic inscription.

At the present moment, moreover, it is especially opportune; for, as I shall presently show, it will turn out to be of use in assisting us to form a correct idea of the date of another series of Himyaritic coins which I was also the means of first making known in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S. vol. xviii., pp. 273—399).

I allude to the San'â Find, a minute and detailed description of which has just been published by M. G. Schlumberger, under the title of "Le Trésor de San'â," Paris, 1880. (Leroux.)

M. Schlumberger treats the subject from a point of view purely numismatic. He makes no claim whatever to a knowledge of the Sabæan language: hence it is to be regretted that no further progress has been made by him in the interpretation of the inscription and the monograms which have hitherto baffled the skill of experienced Sabæan scholars. It may even be questioned whether the inscription which regularly occurs on the earliest coins of this find is in the Himyaritic language at all: certainly the forms of the characters have nothing in common with the well-known stately Himyaritic writing, which, from the evidence of other letters on these very same coins, we know to have been actually in use on the coinage simultaneously with the mysterious characters.

M. Schlumberger, however, though he has not succeeded in reading the inscription, has given us a most valuable numismatic treatise on a very remarkable series of coins. If there be a fault to be found with his classification it is that it is rather too minute.

He divides the whole find into no less than fifteen different types, many of which I should prefer to call

merely slight varieties, owing to the coins being struck from different dies.

In essential points I agree with the order in which M. Schlumberger has arranged the find. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the coins of Group I., which show us the head of a king (or god) wearing a laurel wreath, and with his hair arranged in the ancient Arab fashion, are older than those of Group II., which are copied from Roman coins with the head of Augustus; and as there can be little doubt about the date of the latter, which must coincide with the time of the expedition of Aelius Gallus into Arabia in B.C. 24, the question to be settled in regard to Group I. is merely its duration.

In my paper already referred to I had conjecturally fixed the commencement of the Himyaritic imitations of the flat Athenian tetradrachms as subsequent to B.C. 86, the time when the Athenian coinage was, if not prohibited altogether by Sulla, at any rate much restricted. M. Schlumberger, on the other hand, would make the Himyaritic imitations, Group I. with ΑΘΕ and the inscription [illegible], commence as early as the latter half of the second century B.C., and the series with monograms begin early in the next century. Hence he argues that the Athenian prototypes should be arranged in a similar order—viz. 1st. the series with magistrates' names in full; and 2nd, that with monograms. He would thus make the Himyarite coins of Group I. contemporaneous with, rather than subsequent to, the Athenian money.

In this opinion I can hardly concur. To my eyes these Himyaritic coins have all the appearance of being the currency of a very limited period of time, probably considerably less than a century, and I would look upon them rather as a reminiscence of the Athenian coinage

issued after the latter had ceased to be struck at Athens, and to find its way into the Arabian commerce, than as direct imitations made during the flourishing period of Athenian trade with the East.

Similarly, it seems to me that M. Schlumberger assigns too extended a period to the coinage of Group II. with the Augustean head, when he conjectures (p. 58) that it continued to be issued during the first century of the Christian era.

It should not be forgotten that in the whole find of two hundred coins there are but four distinct pairs of monograms, and only two really distinct types of the coinage with the inscription ſſnvn-c. If, then, as M. Schlumberger suggests, these monograms are the abbreviated names of municipal magistrates, or agoranomi, it follows that it is necessary to compress all the small varieties of type bearing one and the same pair of monograms into the space of time, to be counted by months rather than years, during which that pair of magistrates held office.

In fine, I see no valid reason why all the coins figured in M. Schlumberger's Plate I. might not easily have been issued during a period of about thirty years, say from B.C. 70—40, and those in Plates II. and III. during another thirty years, say from B.C. 40—10, the Augustean type commencing circ. B.C. 24.

Here it is that the tetradrachm of Ab-yatha' comes to our assistance by showing us what style of art and what sort of fabric we are to expect on Himyarite coins of the second century B.C. The difference between it and the San'â coins is indeed so great, that were it not for the unmistakable evidence of the inscriptions, one would hardly believe them to be products of the same race.

Certainly more than a century must have elapsed between works so divergent in every respect as the Ab-yatha' tetradrachm and the coins of the San'â find, and as the date of the former cannot be earlier than B.C. 200, we arrive at the middle of the first century for the commencement of the San'â series.

So much for the chronology of the find. With regard to the inscription ssnvn-<, which no one has yet been able to interpret, and which is found also on coins of a previous date, M. Schlumberger for the present suspends his opinion, but justly remarks that it is hardly possible that it can stand for the name of a reigning prince, unless, indeed, it be some constant appellation of the royal house, such as Arsaces on the Parthian coinage.

On the whole, it seems safer to seek in it an ethnic rather than a personal name.

M. de Longpérier's suggestion that the isolated N, which, with a very few exceptions, is to be found on all the coins of the San'â find, stands for the town of Negrana (Nejrân) is extremely probable, as that town was one of the most important in the Himyarite kingdom.

The head on both the earlier and the later series is taken by M. Schlumberger to be that of a king, and not that of a god. In this he is perhaps right, for the arrangement of the hair on the coins of Group I. bears a close resemblance to that of some of the Nabathæan kings (cf. that of Malchus I., Aretas III., and Obodas II. De Saulcy, "Annuaire de Numismatique," IV. Pl. I.).

In conclusion, I would say that if in some points of chronology I have been led to differ from M. Schlumberger, I am none the less sensible that he has contributed a thorough and exhaustive treatise on

Himyarite numismatics, and one which will be indispensable to all future inquirers in this field of research.

## Description of Plate XV.

On the accompanying Plate, I have placed specimens of the Himyarite coinage from the fourth century B.C. down to the first century A.D.

1. Himyarite imitation of an Athenian drachm, circ. B.C. 400, with **N** on the cheek of the goddess.

2. Himyarite imitation of small Athenian coin of the third century?

   *Obv.*—Head of Pallas.

   *Rev.*—Owl and inscription identical with that on the coins of Group I. of the San'â Find.

3. Himyarite imitation of tetradrachm of Alexander, with the name of Ab-yatha'. Second century B.C.

4, 5. Himyarite coins from the San'â Find. Circ. B.C. 70—40(?)

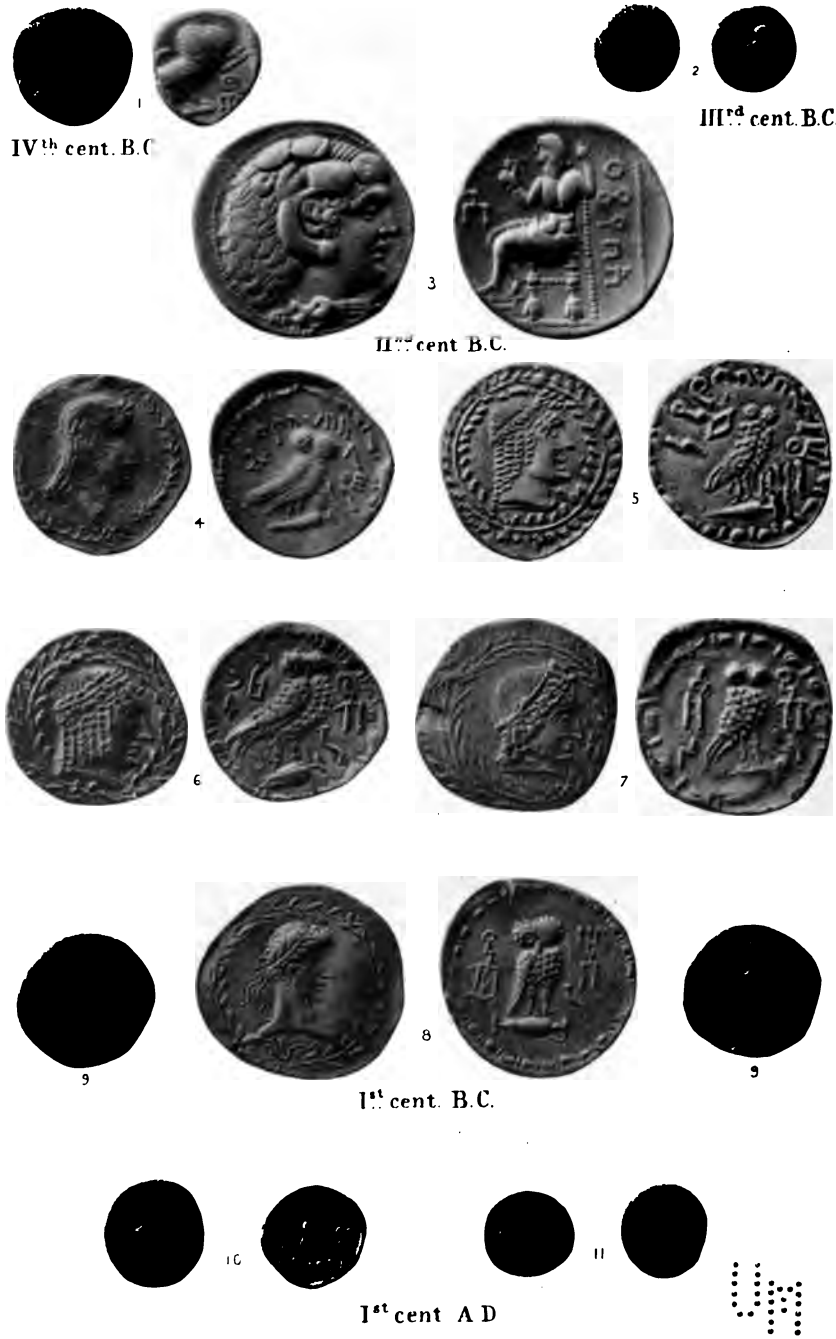
6, 7. ,, ,, ,, Circ. B.C. 40—24(?)

8, 9. ,, ,, ,, After circ. B.C. 24.

10. Himyarite coin of the first century A.D.? reading, "Amdân-bayyin, yanaf, Raidân.

11. Himyarite coin of the first century A.D.? reading "Amdân-bayyin, Raidân," and having on the obverse a monogram composed of the Himyarite letters *ḥ*, *n*, and *g* or *b*.

Barclay V. Head.




HIMYARITE COINS.

## XVIII.

### LES MÉDAILLES ORDINAIREMENT ATTRIBUÉES À LIVIE, ETC.

Les trois moyens bronzes reproduits Nos. 1, 2 et 3 de notre planche sont connus de tous les numismates, et encore bien qu'ils aient déjà été admirablement bien dessinés par M. Dardel pour l'ouvrage de M. Cohen, j'ai cru devoir les faire dessiner à nouveau ici sur des exemplaires à fleur de coin faisant partie de ma collection, afin de faire mieux ressortir les différences qui existent entre les trois têtes de ces moyens bronzes. On les attribue ordinairement toutes les trois à Livie, femme de l'Empereur Auguste, et cette attribution a reçu une nouvelle consécration de l'autorité de M. Cohen,[1] mais je crois néanmoins que des doutes peuvent être élevés sur l'attribution de ces trois médailles uniquement à Livie.

Avant tout, je dois rappeler ici, que pendant toute la durée de l'Empire romain et dès le commencement de l'ère impériale, les empereurs ont fait frapper des monnaies représentant leurs femmes, leurs enfants et d'autres membres de leurs familles, sans leurs noms, mais avec les noms et les emblèmes de divinités et en leur conservant, ou non, les emblèmes caractéristiques

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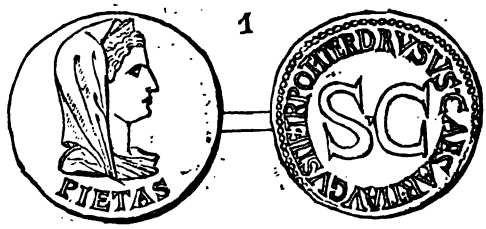
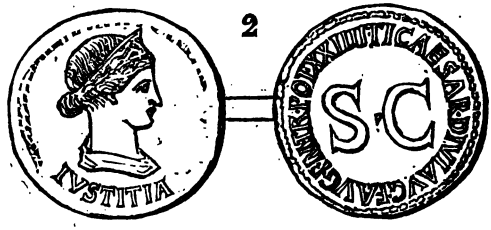
[1] Voir "Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain," par Henri Cohen, tome i. p. 106, pl. v.

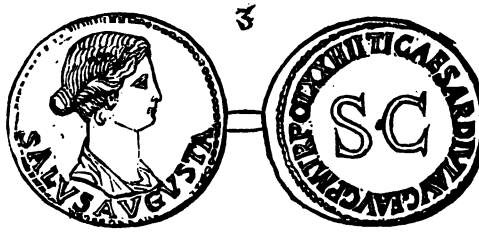
1




2




3




4

de leur rang en même temps, témoin le diadéme qui orne la tête de nos deux moyens bronzes Nos. 1 et 2, mais qui pourtant aussi ornent également la tête de déesses sur d'autres médailles représentant uniquement ces divinités. Quelquefois néanmoins aucun ornement ne se voit sur les têtes et il n'y existe que le nom d'une divinité, comme par exemple sur nos bronzes Nos. 3 et 4.

De ces quatre moyens bronzes, l'un le No. 1, tête diadémée et voilée de la Piété avec le mot PIETAS à l'exergue au-dessous du buste de la déesse et portant au revers la légende DRVSVS CAESAR TI. AVGVSTI F. TR.POT. ITER, indique évidemment que c'est à l'époque ou Drusus fils de l'Empereur Tibère était investi de la puissance tribunitienne pour la seconde fois, c'est-à-dire l'an de Rome 775, de J.-C. 22, que cette monnaie a été frappée et comme Drusus est mort en l'année 776 de Rome, 23 de J.-C., c'est donc très peu de temps avant sa mort alors qu'il venait d'être investi de la puissance tribunitienne pour la seconde fois, T. R. POT. ITER, que ce moyen bronze a été frappé. Ce portrait me paraît être celui de Julia Livia, ou Livilla, femme de Drusus, qui a été accusée de l'avoir empoisonné d'accord avec Séjan son amant dans des vues ambitieuses, pour pouvoir l'épouser ensuite et arriver par cette union a l'Empire qu'il convoitait. Julia Livia, au rapport de Tacite unie d'abord à Caïus César, puis à Drusus, sœur de Germanicus, nièce d'Auguste, était dans son enfance d'une figure peu agréable, mais elle devint plus tard une beauté remarquable:[2] *quæ soror Germanici formæ initio ætatis indecoræ mox pulchritudine præcellebat.* Julia Livia, femme de Drusus, était donc une femme remarquable par sa beauté et le portrait qui nous reste d'elle sur le moyen bronze de notre

[2] Voir Tacite, livre iv. des Annales, § 3.

planche No. 1, le témoigne suffisamment. Il est impossible de ne pas être frappé de l'air de grandeur et de la beauté de cette figure du No. 1 que le dessin a peine à rendre, tant elle est splendide sur la médaille et elle ne ressemble nullement à celles des Nos. 2, 3, et 4.

Le No. 2 a été frappé par l'Empereur Tibère la XXIIIIme année de sa puissance tribunitienne, c'est-à-dire, l'an de Rome 775, de J.-C. 22, et alors Livie à qui je l'attribue (et c'est la seule pièce des trois qu'on lui donne ordinairement que je lui attribue), Livie dis-je, devait déjà avoir atteint sa soixante dix-huitième année. Mais attendu quelle est représentée ici sous la figure d'une divinité, la Justice IVSTITIA et que dans la religion romaine payenne on représentait les déesses comme étant toujours jeunes, l'artiste qui a gravé le coin avec lequel on a frappé ce moyen bronze, tout en idéalisant Livie sous la figure de la Justice lui a fait une tête qui doit être son portrait quand elle était jeune, c'est-à-dire dans les premiers temps de son union avec l'Empereur Auguste, ou peu de temps après, à l'époque enfin où elle était dans tout l'éclat de sa beauté, peut-être à 19 ou 20 ans environ qu'elle avait quand elle venait de quitter son mari Tibère Claude Néron, qu'elle sacrifiait à Auguste, lequel venait de répudier de son côté sa femme Scribonia, à cause des désordres de sa conduite disait-il, mais bien aussi par caprice pour Livie. A ce que dit Tacite, Livie était très belle à l'époque où l'Empereur Auguste s'enflamma pour elle d'un amour si violent qu'il l'enleva à son mari encore bien qu'elle fut enceinte et près d'accoucher.

Je ne dirai rien de plus de Livie, si ce n'est qu'elle devint très vieille, qu'elle survécut à Auguste et qu'elle mourut dans un âge très-avancé à 85 years, l'an de Rome 782, de Jésus-Christ 29, tandis qu'Auguste mourut à 76

ans, l'an de Rome 767, de J.-C. 14. Elle survécut donc quinze ans à son mari. Rien ne doit étonner d'ailleurs à ce que Tibère Empereur ait fait frapper une médaille en l'honneur de Livie et avec sa tête sous la vocable d'une déesse Justitia, car il lui devait son adoption par Auguste et son avénement à l'Empire du monde romain.

Tacite a donné à Livie la qualification de *uxor facilis* qu'elle a constamment mérité pendant tout le temps de son union avec Auguste, par ses complaisances pour tous ses vices et son acquiescement à toutes ses débauches—*voir* Tacite et Suétone *passim.*

Le No. 3 porte du côté de l'effigie la légende SALVS AVGVSTA au-dessous d'un buste de femme à tête nue et vue de profil. Évidemment cette tête ne ressemble pas à celles des moyens bronzes Nos. 1 et 2 de la planche. La médaille porte pour légende à son revers, TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVG. P. M. T. R. POT. XXIIII. comme le No. 2, et la XXIIIIe année de la puissance tribunitienne de Tibère correspond à l'an 22 de Jésus-Christ, 775 de Rome. Or Tibère monta sur le trône et prit le titre d'Auguste l'an de Rome 767, de Jésus-Christ 14 et il y aurait eu alors huit ans qu'il était Empereur et Auguste lorsqu'il aurait fit frapper cette médaille. On doit se poser ici la question de savoir, si cette médaille représente en réalité Julie fille d'Auguste, femme de Marcellus d'abord, puis d'Agrippa et en dernier lieu de Tibère, qui l'épousa l'an de Rome 743, avant Jésus-Christ 11. Or dès l'année 748 de Rome, c'est-à-dire 5 ans après son mariage avec Julie, il se sépara d'elle et se retira à Rhodes sous prétexte de prendre du repos et de se livrer à l'étude; mais en réalité pour ne plus être témoin des débordements de sa femme que son père l'Empereur Auguste relégua alors dans l'Ile de Pandantaire avec sa mère Scribonie,

l'an de Rome 752, av. J.-C. 2. Son père se montra envers elle d'une rigueur extrême, dit M. Cohen, et malgré le désir du peuple romain de la voir revenir à Rome ce n'a été que plus tard qu'il lui permit de venir habiter Rhegium, en la soumettant à une surveillance sévère, et Tibère son mari, à peine parvenu au trône, aggrava encore ces rigueurs, puisqu'il la laissa mourir de faim l'an de Rome 767, de Jésus-Christ 14. Donc ce moyen bronze est posthume puisqu'il a été frappé par Tibère, huit ans après la mort de Julie, l'an de Rome 775, de J.-C. 22. Or la mort fait pardonner bien des fautes aux femmes par les maris quand bien même ces maris seraient des empereurs, des souverains absolus, surtout lorsqu'ils ont imposé ou accepté l'imposition faite à leurs femmes, de privations, de pénitences aussi dures que celles qui ont été imposées à Julie fille d'Auguste par son père, qu'ils les ont même aggravées et que leur vengeance est depuis plus longtemps satisfaite.

En comparant le portrait de femme qui existe sur le No. 3 et celui du No. 4 de notre planche, frappée en Afrique et même avec le denier de la planche V. de Cohen de la famille Maria, qui représente Julie avec un carquois sous la figure de Diane, je ne puis pas m'empêcher de reconnaître une très grande ressemblance entre les trois têtes, c'est la même coiffure de cheveux, le même profil, et si le moyen bronze d'Afrique donne le portrait de Julie d'Auguste comme le denier de la famille Maria, notre No. 3 attribué jusqu'à présent à Livie doit incontestablement être restitué à Julie d'Auguste.

Le No. 4 de notre planche qui est connu et attribué dubitativement à Julie d'Auguste, m'a paru mériter d'être publié parce qu'il est inédit en ce sens que le buste de Julie est accosté de deux objets qui ne se rencontrent pas ordi-

nairement ou qui n'ont pas été signalés jusqu'à présent sur ces moyens bronzes. Derrière le buste de Julie, se voit une plante que jusqu'ici je n'ai pas pu déterminer et préciser, mais qui me paraît être toute autre que le Silphium des monnaies de la Cyrénaïque, et en avant duquel se voit le corps presqu'en entier d'un cheval nu moins la tête.

Je laisse aux savants plus autorisés que moi le soin d'expliquer la présence de ces deux objets sur une monnaie frappée en Afrique à l'effigie d'une Impératrice ou d'une princesse romaine. Mais avant d'expliquer pourquoi cette plante existe sur la médaille, il faudrait d'abord savoir quelle est cette plante, alors on pourrait peut-être dire pourquoi elle est là. Quant au cheval, sa présence ici serait toute naturelle soit qu'on l'applique à la Mauritanie, à la Numidie, ou à toute autre colonie africaine dépendant de Rome qui dès ces temps reculés étaient renommée pour la vélocité, la sûreté et la bonté de leurs chevaux.

5

Du denier de la famille Maria (No. 5) et qui d'un côté représente l'Empereur Auguste avec son nom seul sans aucun titre et sans ornement, ni symbole autre que le

## XIX.

## THE COINAGE OF THE DECLINE OF THE MONGOLS IN PERSIA.

As some of the coins I acquired last year at Kermán may not have been edited, I have ventured to give a concise description of the most important ones; they may elucidate some obscure points of Persian history, and add a few names to the list of places at which coins were struck.

1. Silver. Muḥammed Khán, struck at Tabríz, A.H. 738 (1337–8).

Obverse.

ابوبكر
لا الله الا
محمد
رسول الله

Reverse Area.

السلطان العالم
محمد خلد الله
ملكه ودولته

Margin.

ضرب تبريز فى سنه ثمان وثلثين وسبعمائة

2. Silver. Suleimán Khán, struck at Kermán, A.H. 741 (1341–2).

Obverse, in square area. لا الـــه الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

in margin. ابوبكر عمر عثمان على

Reverse Area. ضرب
السلطان العالم
سليمان خان خلد ملكه
كرمان

Margin. سنه احدى واربعين وسبعمائه

3. Silver, Suleimán Khán, struck at Yezd, A.H. 741.
4. Silver, Suleimán Khán, struck at Ṭús, A.H. 741.
5. Silver, Suleimán Khán, struck at Sírján, A.H. 741.
6. Silver, Suleiman Khan, struck at Belján, A.H. 741.

The legends of Obverse and Reverse of numbers 3 to 6, are the same as those of No. 2, the sequence of the names in the margin of the obverse is occasionally changed, the circles of the Area of the Reverse are sometimes plain, sometimes composed of points.

Abú Sa'íd Bahádur Khán was the last of the Moghul family, who reigned for any length of time over Persia. After his death the whole country was for some years practically in the hands of the Chúpánís. Members of the Moghul family were put upon the throne and deposed at their pleasure. After Abú Sa'íd's death, 13th Rabí' II. 736, Arpá Khán reigned a few days; he was killed at Ujján by the sons of Amír Maḥmúd Sháh Inchú on the 3rd Shawwál of the same year. Músá Khán ibn 'Alí Baidú then ascended the throne, was however deposed

two months later by Amír Sheikh Hasan Chúpání (known as the "great Hasan"), and replaced by *Muḥammed Khán*, a great grandson of Hulákú. Músá Khán was killed at the battle of Germrúd in the beginning of 737 when fighting against Muḥammed Khán, and the latter was killed by Amír Sheikh Hasan ibn Tímúr Tásh (known as the "little Hasan") in a battle near Nakhchíván, on the 20th Zulhijjeh, 738, after a reign of two years. The princess Sáqí Beg Khátún, a daughter of Uljáïtú Khán, reigned a short time, was deposed by the little Hasan in the summer of 739, and married to *Suleimán Khán*, a great-grandson of Tishmeh, one of Hulakú's sons. Suleimán reigned with great difficulties till about 742. He had to defend his throne against the great Hasan, and the latter's nominee, Jehán Tímúr, a grandson of Keikhátú, defeated them, was then deposed by the little Hasan, and finally disappears from history in 744. In 741 (the date on the coins) Suleimán Khán's sway seems to have been acknowledged throughout Persia, as the coins of Yezd, Kermán and Ṭús certify. The little Hasan's nominee, Anúshírván Khán, who reigned only a few days in 740, seems not to have disturbed Suleimán Khán's authority. At the end of the year 741 Mubáriz ed dín, the first of the Fárs Muzafferís, was the independent ruler of Yezd; in 742 he took Kermán from the Qara Kitánians and a few years later Shíráz fell into his hands. In 754 he was ruler of Azerbáïján, and public prayers were read in his name at Tabríz. Amír Mubáriz ed dín, in consequence of great cruelty to his sons and relations, was imprisoned at Ispahán, as he was returning from Azerbáïján, and blinded by his nephew Sháh Sulṭán at the castle Tabarek on the 18th Ramazán, 760; he was then taken to Qal'ah Safíd in

Fárs, then to Qal'ah Germsír, and finally to Bam, where he died, Rabí' II. 765. He was buried at Meibud in the college he had founded. His eldest son, Sháh Shujá', who was born 22 Jumáda II. 733, probably assumed supreme power after his father had been blinded in 760. The following coins show the kingdom of Sháh Shujá' to have extended from the Persian Gulf on the south to Tabríz on the north, and from Kermán on the east to Idej on the west, including the present provinces Fárs, Kermán, Yezd, Iráq, Azerbáïjan and Arabistan. Sháh Shujá' died Saturday, 21st Sha'bán, 786, at Shíráz, and was succeeded by his son Zein el 'Ábidín, who was captured by Tímúr Lang's troops, blinded, and later sent to Transoxania.

Silver coins of *Jelál ed dunyá wa- ed dín Sháh Shujá'*, Muzafferí of Fárs.

These coins are mostly well struck, those of Idej and Raḥin show the finest workmanship, some of Yezd are the worst.

The Obverses are of two kinds :

Obverse, *a*.

ابوبكر
لا الـــه الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
عثمان

Obverse, *b*.

ابوبكر
لا الله الا
محـمـد
رسول الله
عثمان

The Reverse in all cases is:

Area. بالله
المعتضد السلطان
ضرب
المطاع شاه شجاع
يزد
خلد الله ملكه

Margin: date.

Most of the coins have the name of the mint place in the area of the Reverse, some have it on the Obverse, or on both Obv. and Rev. The date is generally on the Rev., either in the margin or, in very small characters, in the area; on coins of Idej it is also found on the Obverse below the word Muḥammed. The better struck coins have all diacritical points.

Ornaments on the coins are:

*a.* Four ⊠, on coins of Bender, Lúrdegán, Ráḥin and on some of Kermán and Idej.

*b.* Two ⊠, on coins of Shíráz.

*c.* Four ⋎, on some coins of Yezd.

*d.* Four stars, on some coins of Yezd.

With one exception the legends are within an area surrounded by three circles, the inner of which is serrated, the middle one plain, the outer formed of points.

7. Struck at Shíráz, A.H. 762 (1360–1).

*Obv.* *a*; *a* with ornament *b*.

*Rev.* with date and mint.

8. Struck at Yezd, 762.

*Obv.* *a*; *b*; *b* with ornament *a*; *b* with ornament *c*; *b* with mint.

*Rev.* with date and mint; with date only; with ornament *a*; with ornament *d*.

9. Struck at Kermán, 762.
   *Obv. a*; *b* with ornament *a*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint; with ornament *a*.
10. Struck at Ráḥin, 762.
   *Obv. b*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
11. Struck at Bázuft, 762.
   *Obv. b*.
   *Rev.* date and mint.
12. Struck at Bender, 762.
   *Obv. b*; *b* with ornament *a*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
13. Struck at Idez, 762.
   *Obv. b*; *b* with date; *b* with ornament *a*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
14. Struck at Idez, 764 (1362–3.)
   *Obv. b*. with date.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
15. Struck at Marlahú, 762.
   *Obv. a*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
16. Struck at Shebánkáreh (?), 762.
   *Obv. a*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
17. Struck at Lúrdeján, 762.
   *Obv. b* with mint; *b* with ornament *a*.
   *Rev.* with date and mint.
18. Struck at Kázerún, 762.
   *Obv. a*.
   *Rev.* date and mint.

19. Struck at Abreqúh, 762.

*Obv. a.*

*Rev.* with date and mint.

20. Mint place and date illegible.

*Obv. a.*

Reverse Area. المتعضد

السلطان المطاع

جلال الدنيا والدين والدولة

شاه شجاع خلد

ملكه

Margin illegible.

Sírján, the mint place of No. 5, was formerly the capital of Bardshír (also Bardsír). It is now a district of the Kermán province, its principal place being Saidábád, a large village in a fertile plain five stages from Kermán on the road to Shíráz.

The mint place of No. 6, if I read Belján correctly, is perhaps the small town near Merv, mentioned by Arabic and Persian geographers. Another Belján is mentioned as being a town near Baṣrah.

Ráḥin, of No. 10, I suppose to be the present Ráyín, also Ráhin, a large village 60 miles S.E. of Kermán on the road to Bam; it had, in 1877, 2546 inhabitants. Bázuft and Lúrdeján are two places in the Bakhtíárí country, both giving a name to two of the principal sources of the Kurun (Kárún beyond Shúster) river. Lúrdeján is called by geographers a district of Ahwáz and a small town in great Luristán. The country of the Bakhtíáris, or great Luristán, at present forms part of the Arabistán province sometimes known as Ahwáz. Bázuft (with pronunciation Bazift) is said to be a place near Ispahán.

Both places lie about halfway between Ispahán and Shúshter. I passed their rivers in 1877.

Of Bender, the mint place of No. 13, I cannot find any notice. It was perhaps the principal port of Kermán or Fárs, perhaps Hormúz or Qísh. People of Shíráz and Kermán even now say shortly Bender when they speak of the principal port of their province, respectively Búshehr (Bushire) and Bender Abbás.

Idej or Izej, the mint place of Nos. 13 and 14, was the capital of the Fazlevíeh Atabegs of Luristán; its ruins can be seen in the midst of the small Málámír plain situated according to Ibn Batútah four stages, according to my itinerary in 1877 121 miles, from Shúshter on the Ispahán road. In 762 and 764 Muzaffer ed dín Afrásíáb Ahmed ibn Yúsuf Sháh was Atabeg of Luristán. The country had been taken by Sháh Shujá', for his father, in 750, and from the coins of Idej, Bázuft and Lúrdeján we see that Fazlvíehs acknowledged the suzerainty of the Muzafferís.

Shebánkáreh was up to Alp Arslán's time (latter half of 11th century) called Ij or Ig. When Fazl Allah ibn Hasan, commonly called the Fazlvíeh, was nominated Governor of Fars, he made Ij his capital. He rebelled against his suzerain, and was, after a siege, captured and killed by order of Nizám el Mulk, Alp Arslán's celebrated minister. Fazl Allah's nephew, Nizám ed dín, who was appointed in his stead, called the country extending from Rúníz to Gúristán (7 farsakhs from Bender 'Abbás) Shebánkáreh. It then paid a revenue of 200,000 dinars. Yaqút, in the beginning of the 12th century, still ignores Shebánkáreh. Under Hulákú's reign Shebánkáreh was destroyed, it then had 17,000 houses. In 706 it is spoken

of as an unimportant place paying only 26,000 dinars revenue.

Marlahú, the mint place of No. 15, is perhaps the present Maharlú, about 20 miles S.E. of Shiráz, metathesis being of frequent occurrence in local names.

21. Original coin of Sháh Rukh, few letters and date, A.H. 822 (1418–9), visible; silver.

On *Obv.* stamp of Sultán Ya'qúb, Kermán, 890, (1484–5).

On *Rev.* stamp of Hasan Beig, Shíráz, 876 (1471–2).

Obverse, in lozenge. عدل
يعقوب
سلطان ٨٩٠
كرمان

Reverse; small square, surrounded by a star formed of six semicircles; in square عدل
حسن بيك

In margin. ضرب شيراز ٨٧٦

22. Coin of Sháh Rukh. Silver. Obverse intact. Of original Reverse legible:

لاعظم .....
رخ بهادر .....
قند .....

Struck at Samarqand?

On *Reverse* in lozenge, stamp of Ya'qúb, Kermán, 892.

23. Coin of Sháh Rukh, few letters legible. Silver.

On *Reverse* in lozenge, stamp of Ya'qúb, Shíráz, 892.

On *Obverse* in square and star, stamp of Hasan Beig, margin illegible.

24. Coin of Arghún Khán, few letters legible, date 683, (1284–5).

On *Reverse* stamp of Ya'qúb in Octagon, Ispahán, no date.

عدل سلطان
يعقوب
اصفهان

25. Silver coin, original Obv. and Rev. illegible.
On *Reverse* stamp of Ya'qúb, Tabríz; no date.

26. Silver coin of Tímúr (?).
On *Reverse* stamp of Ya'qúb, Kermán, 891.

The foregoing six coins prove more than anything else could that the reign of the Aq Quyunlús, also known as the Báyenderíyehs, was very precarious. They evidently neither had the means nor the time to strike their own coins, but had their names struck on old coins already in circulation. The Hasan Beig of the coins is the first of the Aq Quyunlús who had any supremacy at all; he took Shíráz in 874 (1459–70), and died 30th Ramazán, 882, at Tabríz. Hasan's son Khalíl, who succeeded, was killed by his brother Ya'qúb Beig, then Governor of Díárbekr, near Merend in Azerbáïján on the 14th Rabí' II. 883. Ya'qúb died in his camp in Qarabágh in the winter of 896 (1490–1). It was during his reign that Sultán Heider, the Sefávíeh, was killed at Shírván. Heider's sons, who were imprisoned by Ya'qúb at Istakhr, fled however during the anarchy consequent upon Ya'qúb's death. Rustam Beig, Ya'qúb's son, and last of the Aq Quyunlús who held any power, was strangled by Ahmed, one of his relations, in 902; and in 906 (1500), we find Sháh Isma'íl,

youngest son of Heider, reigning over Persia, and the Aq Qoïnlús disappeared from history.

The following series of *gold* coins I also acquired at Kermán.

*'Amr ibn El-Leith.*

27. Jennábá, A.H. 275 (888–9).

*Nasr ibn Aḥmed*, Sámání.

28. Níshábúr, A.H. 303 (915–6).
29. Samarqand, A.H. 306 (918–9).
30. Samarqand, A.H. 313 (925–6).
31. Níshábúr, A.H. 317 (929),

*Núḥ ibn Nasr*, Sámání.

32. Níshábúr, A.H. 337 (948–9).

*Manṣúr ibn Núḥ*, Sámání.

33. Níshábúr, A.H. 362 (972–3).

*Núḥ ibn Manṣúr*, Sámání.

34. Níshábúr, A.H. 377 (987–8).

*Maḥmúd ibn Sabaktegín*, with title of Seif ed dawleh, under Núḥ ibn Manṣúr, Sámání.

35. Níshábúr, A.H. 385 (995).

Obverse Area. عدل
لا اله الا الله
وحده لاشريك له
الولى سيف
الدولة محمود

Inner Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيشابور سنة
خمس وثمانين وثلث مائة

Outer margin. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح
المومنون بنصر الله

Reverse Area. لله
محمد رسول الله
الطايع لله
الملك المنصور
نوح بن منصور

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره
على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

*Mahmúd ibn Sabaktegín*, with title of Yamín ed dawleh; independent.

36. Níshábúr, A.H. 391 (1000–1), three varieties.
37. Herát, A.H. 396 (1005–6).
38. Níshábúr, A.H. 397 (1006–7).
39. Níshábúr, A.H. 398 (1007–8).
40. Herát, A.H. 399 (1008–9).
41. Níshábúr, A.H. 401 (1010–1), two varieties.
42. Níshábúr, A.H. 402 (1011–2), two varieties.
43. Níshábúr, A.H. 403 (1012–3).

The legends on Nos. 27 to 43 are all the same. Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, have Násir, No. 32 has Nasr. The average weight of the coins is 64½ grains. The gold is very pure.

I also found a fine specimen of the gold coin of Ghiáth ed dín Tughluq Sháh (vide Mr. E. Thomas, Pathan Kings, No. 161, p. 191), weighing 164 grains, and—most strange of all—a long cross penny of Henry III., with the mint Willem. On. Cant. How this coin reached Kermán it is difficult to conceive.

A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

# XX.

## ON SOME EARLY AND MODERN TOKENS BEARING THE NAMES OF HOARE, &c.

HAVING lately had the accompanying plate of a few tokens in brass, copper, and lead, bearing the names of Hoare, &c., engraved for my own amusement, and a small number of impressions struck off, for presentation to my immediate friends, I venture to offer it to the Numismatic Society, for insertion in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle. A short description of the tokens, which are all in my own possession, and representations of which have never, in any instance, been previously engraved, and some account of the issuers, may not, at the same time, be deemed inappropriate.

Number 1 is of bright yellow brass, date 1657, issued by Elyzabeth Hoare, Saint George's Church, in the Borough of Southwark. Number 2 is of the same person, but with the date 1665, and of brass also. I have another impression, of the date 1657, but it is of copper, mixed slightly with brass, and differing in some very minor particulars, and not here engraved. These all also read the Christian name as Elyzabeth. These tokens I obtained from Mr. John S. Smallfield, several years since, in exchange for some other coins. They are the same tokens which, in former lists of unpublished varieties of

London tokens, are given in the Numismatic Chronicle, by A. W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum, and Mr. John S. Smallfield, but they both have given the Christian name as *Elizabeth*, which is incorrect, as on the three tokens, the name on each is without the slightest doubt spelt as *Elyzabeth*. I do not know who she was, or to what family she may have belonged; neither, whether she carried on any business, as might be supposed: she appears to have been either single or a widow at the time, from the only initial letters E. H.

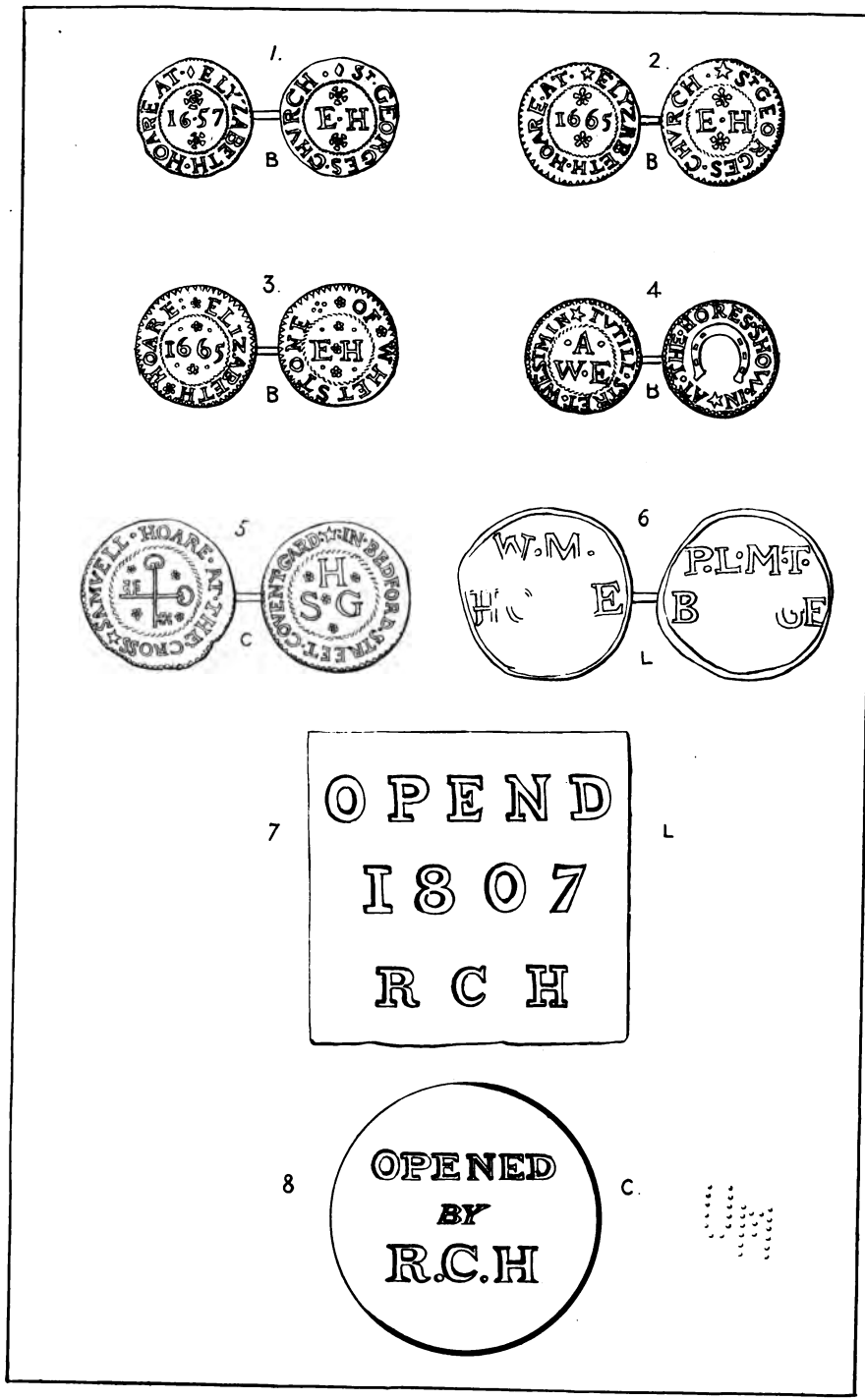
Number 3 was issued also by a woman named Elizabeth Hoare, of Whetstone, in the county of Middlesex, date, 1665. On this token the name is spelled with the letter *i*, as *Elizabeth;* she also appears to have been single, with only the letters E. H., and no indication is given of any trade or business. I believe that the foregoing tokens, four in number, are the only specimens known of these varieties. They are interesting to me as bearing my own name. Number 4 does not properly belong to the series; it is meant for The Horse Shoe, in Tutill Street, Westminster; but, I have added it, as it is so very curiously spelt, as *The Hores Show*. Number 5 was issued by Samuel Hoare, at the Cross Keys, in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, and some account of this token, and of the issuer also, has been given in the Description of the Beaufoy Collection, published by Mr. I. H. Burn, page 25, Number 139, second edition, 1855. He is supposed, by Mr. Burn, to have married the widow of George Gascoigne (Georgina Gascoigne), who issued a token of the same tavern, number 138 of the same volume, also described by Mr. Burn, and this conclusion is arrived at from the initial letters S. G. H., the token of George Gascoigne bearing the letters G. G. G. In the rate-book

for the year 1663, for the parish of Saint Paul's, Covent Garden, he is mentioned, and in the register of the burials, of the same parish, his name occurs as Captain Samuel Hoare, buried in the church vaults, October 14, 1668, where others of the same family and name are also buried.

Number 6 is a token of lead. It was issued by a grocer named William Hoare, in 1810, who resided and kept a shop on George's Quay, directly facing Parliament Bridge, in the city of Cork. It reads on the obverse in two lines across the field, W. M. HOARE, and on the reverse in two lines also, P. L. M. T. BRIDGE. It is only in poor preservation. It is so rare that I only know of one other specimen, which belonged to the late John Lindsay, Esq., of Maryville, near Cork, who gave it to Doctor Aquilla Smith, of Dublin, to whom it now belongs. About this time lead tokens were much used in the city of Cork. I have some others, issued chiefly by grocers and bakers; small change appears to have been then very scarce, lead tokens, foreign brass and copper coins, raps, raspers, and even counters being used as small media of exchange. In the Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society, volume ii., new series, November, 1858, number 18, page 217, will be found a description, by Doctor Aquilla Smith, of his token of William Hoare, of Cork.

Number 7 is the Barrow Token, of lead, square, struck in 1807 for the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Baronet, of Stourhead, in Wiltshire, and deposited in barrows and tumuli opened by him.

Number 8 is the Barrow Token, of copper, circular, struck for the same excellent antiquary and learned historian, and used for the same purpose. They merely


1.
HOARE AT ELYZABETH
1657
ST GEORGES CHVRCH
E·H
B
2.
HOARE AT ELYZABETH
1665
ST GEORGES CHVRCH
E·H
B
3.
HOARE ELIZABETH
1665
OF WHETSTONE
E·H
B
4
WESTMIN TVTILL STREET
A
W·E
AT THE HORES SHOW IN
B
5
SAMVELL HOARE AT THE CROSS
H
S·G
COVENT GARD IN BEDFORD STREET
C
6
W.M.
E
P.L.M.T.
B
L
7
OPEND
1807
RCH
L
8
OPENED
BY
R.C.H
C.

have the initial letters of his names, deeply indented, on them, with the word, Opened, and the date in the lead specimen. A couple of specimens of each variety were kindly given to me by the late Sir Henry Hugh Hoare, Baronet, his step-brother and successor, when on a short visit at Stourhead many years since. I have only, in conclusion, to express a hope that this communication, however trivial, may not be deemed altogether unacceptable to the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle.

EDWARD HOARE.

CORK.

## MISCELLANEA.

THE COPPER COINAGE OF SARAWAK.—In exhibiting to the Society a set of the copper coinage of Sarawak, a few remarks appear to be necessary.

The little district of Sarawak is situated on the west coast of the island of Borneo, and has a population of about 250,000 inhabitants, of various races. Its Rajah is an Englishman, Charles Johnson Brooke, nephew of the late Rajah, Sir James Brooke, to whom the government was ceded by the Sultan of Borneo.

Having become possessed of some of the coins of Sarawak, and finding that any information regarding them in this country was vague, I wrote to his Highness the Rajah, requesting that he would inform me where the coins were struck, and that he would be so good as to supply me with any further details respecting them, in order that I might lay the same before the Society, and I yesterday received a reply from the Treasurer of the Government containing the required information, and enclosing for my acceptation specimens of the pieces wanting to complete my collection.

The coins may be briefly described as follows:—

COINS OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, RAJAH.

1. CENT.

*Obv.*—A finely executed bust of the Rajah to the left. J. BROOKE RAJAH.

*Rev.*—SARAWAK. Within a wreath the value, ONE CENT. Beneath, the date, 1863.

2. HALF-CENT.

Similar to the foregoing, but within the wreath, HALF-CENT.

3. QUARTER-CENT.

Also similar, but within the wreath, ¼ CENT.

This, according to my information, was the only issue during the rajahship of Sir James Brooke. The coins were struck by Buchanan, Hamilton, & Co., of Glasgow.

COINS OF CHARLES JOHNSON BROOKE, RAJAH.

Born, 1839; succeeded, 1868.

1. CENT.

*Obv.*—Bust of the Rajah to the left, very similar in style to the coins of his uncle.

*Rev.*—As before, but dated 1870 and 1879.

2. HALF-CENT.

Similar to the half cent of 1863, but dated 1870 and 1879.

3. QUARTER-CENT.

Also similar, but dated 1870 only.

The coins were struck by Messrs. Smith & Wright, of Birmingham.

Before writing to Sarawak, I was already in possession of all the late Rajah's coins, and the two larger pieces dated 1870 of the present currency. The cents, however, of both issues are comparatively common, while the smaller pieces are all rare, and especially the quarter-cent of 1870.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

*February* 19, 1880.

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NOTICES OF SALES.—Since our last notice given at p. 80 of the present volume the following sales of coins and medals have taken place, and in conformance with the promise then given to acquaint the readers of the "Numismatic Chronicle" with occasional notes of such sales, we append the prices of such lots as may serve to be of use to those who are forming collections. All the sales here noticed took place at Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 13, Wellington Street, Strand. The first important sale which has taken place in the month of May of this year, is that of the cabinet of coins belonging to Mr. Lake Price, which contained many valuable coins of the Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, English, and Scotch series. This cabinet of coins was collected with much care and perseverance by Mr. Price, who did not confine his efforts to what he could acquire in England only, but made use of the advantages afforded by visits to other countries, especially Italy and Sicily, to enrich his collection with many rare pieces. It will be seen that in the series of Syracuse the collection was especially rich,

there being no less than five of those splendid decadrachms, which may be said to be the finest specimens of ancient money. Among the early British coins the following lots may be noticed. A gold coin with obv. head of Apollo, rev. androcephalous horse in chariot galloping over prostrate figure, from the Bergne sale, £4. Another of Cunobeline, *Ev.* ix. 2; ob. two horses galloping, rev. CAMVL on a tablet across ornamented band, £5 5s. Also of the same king another, obv. CVN, horse to right with small cross on hind-quarters, rev. CAMV. ear of corn, *Ev.* ix. 9, £4 4s., &c. In the Greek series a tetradrachm of Thurium, obv. head of Minerva with scylla and griffin on helmet, rev. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ, bull-butting, in ex. a fish, £21. Another of Leontini, obv. ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΘ, lion's head and four grains of corn, rev. Triga, £5 7s. 6d. Naxos, a tetradrachm, obv. bearded head of Bacchus with ivy wreath, rev. ΝΑΧΙΟΝ, Satyr seated on ground holding cantharus, £12. Three tetradrachms of Panormus, with head of Arethusa on obv., and Punic inscr., and horse's head and palm tree on rev., £4 4s., £4 12s., and £9 5s.; the last of these three coins was in the finest state of preservation. Tetradrachm of Selinus, obv. ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ, river god sacrificing at altar, rev. ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΙΝ, Apollo and Diana in biga, £11 5s. Of the five medallions or decadrachms of Syracuse, one with head of Persephone surrounded by four dolphins and hair in net, rev. quadriga, Victory, and armour, beneath which ΑΘΛΑ, £60. Two others of the same type, but without net and with [ΕΥΑ]ΙΝΕ beneath head, on obv., £27 each. The fourth specimen of the same type, but with escalop shell behind the head of Persephone, and no engraver's name, £25. A similar one, but without escalop shell and not quite so fine, £15 10s. A tetradrachm of Agathocles of Syracuse, obv. ΚΟΡΑΣ, female head, rev. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ, Victory erecting a trophy, in the field ΑΝ and triquetra, £8 8s. Another of Hieronymus of Syracuse, obv. head l., rev. thunderbolt and name of tyrant, £5 7s. 6d. A tetradrachm of Amphipolis with head of Apollo, nearly full face, rev. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ, on raised square, in centre A and torch, £34. Also one of Chalcidice, obv. head of Apollo l., with ΑΜ on neck, rev. around lyre, ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ, and inscribed ΑΜ, £16. A tetradrachm of Antigonus of Macedonia, obv. head of Neptune r., rev. Apollo seated on prow inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, below monogram, £14. Another of Demetrius I. Poliorcetes; obv. head r., with diadem and horn, rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, Neptune resting foot on rock, in field two monograms, £7 7s. A very fine tetradrachm of Mithridates VI. Eupator, king of Bosporus, obv. head diad. right, rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ

ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, Pegasus left, in front star and crescent, behind B, and monogram, £20. Another of Magnesia with bust of Diana on obv., and rev. ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΕΥΦΗΜΟΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ, Apollo leaning upon tripod and standing on a maeander, £32. An extremely fine tetradrachm of Smyrna, obv. female head, Cybele, with mural crown r., rev. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟϹ, lion to right, within wreath, outside monogram, £9 9s. A tetradrachm of Antiochus II. of Syria, obv. winged head, rev. Apollo with arrow, below horse, and two monograms, £8. Another of Antiochus VI., with fine radiate head to right, and rev. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ, Dioscuri charging, date ΘΞΡ, year 169, in field ΤΡΥ, and two monograms, £27. Amongst the gold coins was a stater of Tarentum, obv. ΤΑΡΑ, diademed head of Venus r., veiled, in front dolphin, rev. ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙ, equestrian figures of the Dioscuri, in ex. ΣΑ, £60 10s. Also a coin of Syracuse, with obv. head of Apollo l., rev. biga to right, beneath horses, triquetra and Φ in the exergue, £8 10s. Also of Cyrene, obv. ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ, Victory in quadriga to right, rev. ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΕΥΣ, Jupiter standing at altar, £6. A double-stater of Alexander III., Macedonia, obv. head of Pallas, rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, Victory l., in field A and thunderbolt, £10 10s. Amongst the Roman there was nothing remarkable, but a few prices of the Anglo-Saxon coins may be given:—A penny of Offa, King of Mercia, var. *Rud.* pl. iv. 18, rev. ALHMUND, in two lines, formerly in the Murchison Collection, £6 15s. Another of Coenwulf, *Rud.* vi. 14, but with bare head, rev. DEALLA MONETA, also from Dymock and Murchison sales, £6 2s. 6d. Another of Behrtulf, *Rud.* vii. 2, rev. DENEHEAN, from the Murchison sale, £6 17s. 6d. A penny of Alfred, *Rud.* xv. 7, rev. LONDI . in monogram, from the Murchison sale, £2 14s. Another of same monarch, *Rud.* xv. 8, head with triple diadem, rev. TILEVI [NE] M : Θ : [NE] TA, in two lines divided by LONDI . in monogram, from Martin and Murchison sales, £5. Also of Eadweard the Elder, *Rud.* xvi. 4, rev. VVLFRED MO in two lines, from the Dymock and Murchison sales, £4. Also of Athelstan, *Rud.* xvii. 11, crowned head r., rev. OTIL . MONETA VVINLI (Winchester), three crosses within circle, £2. Another of same monarch, *Rud.* xxii. 10, similar obv. and rev. BYRDEL . MONORÐDIL (Norwich), from the Murchison sale, £5. A penny of Harthacnut, obv. helmeted bust l., rev. SVMERLED ON, from the Cuff and Murchison sales, £5 7s. 6d. The English coins presented very few rarities, so that we will only note the following:—A sovereign of Henry VII., m.m. fleur de lis, king seated beneath canopy, rev. m.m. dragon, IhЄSVS ⁝ &c., royal arms

in centre of large rose, £20. A sovereign of Henry VIII., eighteenth year, *Rud.* v. 2, m.m. fleur de lis, king on throne, rev. royal arms in centre of large rose, £17. (This coin had passed through the Henderson, Durrant, Dymock, and Murchison sales.) A thirty-shilling piece of James I., seventeenth year, *Rud.* xii. 5, m.m. spur-rowel, king seated on throne, rev. royal arms with XXX above the shield and circle of roses, lions, and fleurs de lis, £12 10s. A fifteen-shilling piece of same king, m.m. spur-rowel, on both sides lion crowned sejant supporting royal arms, at sides X—V, rev. A DNO FACTVM, &c., radiated rose, £19 19s. Charles I. Shrewsbury half-pound, 1642, with arms under the horse and no plume behind the king, rev. EXURGAT, &c., £5 12s. 6d. Charles I. Briot's crown, *Rud.* xxi. 10, m.m. anemone and B., £5 12s. 6d. Oliver Cromwell crown, 1658, £5 15s. Charles II. pattern for a broad in silver, by *T. Simon*, obv. CAROLVS II. REX; bust in armour, &c., rev. MAGNALIA DEI, 1660, cross of two C's interlaced and the numerals II., &c., £8 8s. A sovereign and half-sovereign of same monarch by *T. Simon*, *Rud.* xiv. 9, 10, obv. m.m. crown, CAROLVS II., bust laureate l., rev. FLORENT, &c., shield of arms crowned, at sides C.—R, £5 2s. 6d. and £9 respectively. William and Mary five-guinea piece, 1692, elephant and castle under bust, £9. Another of Anne, 1703, with VIGO under bust, £13. Pattern crown, 1818, by *Pistrucci*, of George III., with obv. large head of king r., rev. St. George and the dragon within the garter, ANNO REGNI. LVIII., £11 11s. George III. pattern five-guinea piece, 1770, by *Tanner*, with plain edge, £25 10s. Also a pattern two-guinea piece, 1768, by *Tanner*, plain edge, £10 10s. George III. pattern five-pound piece, 1820, by *Pistrucci*, rev. St. George and dragon, on edge DECVS ET TUTAMEN, &c., REGNI LX., £30 10s. William IV. pattern crown in silver, rev. royal arms on a mantle, below ANNO 1831, £7 2s. 6d. Victoria pattern five-pound piece, rev. Una with the lion, &c., £9 9s. Also a proof in gold of the "Gothic" crown, 1847, from the Marshall sale, £26.

In the month of November, 1880, a collection of coins and medals belonging to a nobleman (Lord Hastings) was sold, which was remarkable and well known as possessing a few very fine and rare Greek coins, a good representative series of early British coins, and a very complete series of English gold coins celebrated for their high state of preservation, the proceeds of all the best sales that have taken place since at least the last thirty years, and also some very rare Scotch coins. This collection afforded excellent advantages to purchasers of coins, and from the prices realised, the opportunity was not lost. The

Roman coins yielded no prices specially worth noticing, but in the Greek series the following may be selected: a tetradrachm of Metapontum, obv. head of Ulysses with helmet ornamented with quadriga, behind small lion and letters ΑΠΗ, rev. two ears of wheat, with ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ in one line and ΑΜΙ, from the Northwick sale, £62. A very fine tetradrachm of Panormus, obv. head of Persephone l., with ear-rings, necklace, &c., between four dolphins, rev. horse's head l., palm-tree and Phœnician inscription, £9. Decadrachm or medallion of Syracuse, obv. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, head of Persephone surrounded by three dolphins, rev. quadriga above, Victory, armour in the exergue, from the Northwick Collection, £48 10s. A tetradrachm also of Syracuse, obv. head of Persephone l., ΝΙ and three dolphins, rev. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΑΝ (mon.), quadriga above triquetra, £3 3s. A gold stater of Alexander III., Macedonia, rev. Victory holding wreath and in field, trident, £4 6s. Among the British coins, those in silver, for the most part with short inscriptions, were sold from 9s. to £1; and similar coins in gold, without inscriptions, from £1 1s. to £1 10s., but one with rev. horse, bull's head, and other emblems in the field, £3 12s. Gold coins of Tasciovanus, from £5 to £6 each, and of Cunobelin about £3 10s.; but an exceptionally fine one, *Hawkins*, fig. 20, £8 15s. A coin of Verica, with obv. Parsley-leaf and VI . RI., rev. man on horseback with shield and COM . F., £9 9s. Nobles of Edward III., £2 6s. to £3 6s.; similar coins of Richard II., £3 4s. to £3 17s. 6d.; also of Henry IV., V., VI., nobles from £2 to £3; and a half-noble at £2 8s.; same coins, nobles, of Edward IV., £2 6s. to £3 12s.; an angel of Richard III., rev. ship with cross, and on each side R and rose, m.m. rose, £7 2s. 6d. Sovereign or double rial of Henry VII., obv. king seated on throne, rev. I . H . S. AVTEM TRANSIENS, &c., large, full-blown rose with shield in centre, from Cuff sale, £26 10s.; another of Henry VIII. of his eighteenth year, obv. king on his throne, rev. double rose and shield in centre, £9 9s.; and a pound sovereign of his thirty-fourth year, obv. King on his throne, under his feet double rose, rev. arms of England, with supporters, HK. on tablet, £34; a similar coin of his thirty-seventh year, rev. arms with supporters, below HR., £8; a George noble of same king, obv. TALI DICAT SIGº MES, &c., St. George in armour on horseback and dragon, rev. ship with double rose on mast, and HK., *Snell*, ii. 8, £34; and another, not so fine, £24. Edward VI. a sovereign of third year, obv. king seated on throne, rev. royal arms supported by a lion and dragon, below E.R., &c., m.m. Y, £25 10s. A double sovereign of same king, obv. king seated on throne, at his feet portcullis EDWARD VI. D. G.

ANGLIE, &c., rev. full-blown double rose and shield, IHESV. AVTEM, &c., m.m. on both sides, a dragon's head, *Rud.* viii. 1, £175; also a pound sovereign of same king, obv. bust of king, crowned, and in armour, holding sword and orb I . H . S . AVTEM TRANSIENS, &c., rev. royal arms supported by lion and dragon, m.m. tun., £10. The crowns and half-crowns of Edward VI. realised from £8 10s. to £10 15s.; of Mary a rial, obv. queen crowned and standing in ship, at the side, a rose and square flag at stern with M., rev., in centre, sun with crowned lions, *Rud.* ix. 2, £68; a similar coin of Elizabeth, *Rud.* ix. 7, £16 10s.; and another varied from last, *Rud.* x. 1, £18. James I. a sovereign, first coinage, obv. three-quarters bust in profile, crowned and armed, rev. shield, with arms crowned, EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI, m.m. thistle, *Rud.* xi. 1, and a half-sovereign of same issue, £11 15s. A rose rial of same king, obv. king on throne, at his feet portcullis, rev. full-blown double rose and shield, A . DNO . FACTVM, &c., m.m. rose, *Rud.* xii. 1, £10 15s.; also a spur rial, obv. king crowned and armed in a ship, &c., rev. rose and sun in a tressure of eight arches, A . DNO . FACTVM, &c., m.m. rose, £15; another similar, £15 10s. Thirty-shilling pieces of same reign were sold from £8 15s. to £12 5s. (the last very fine, and from the Marshall Collection). A fifteen-shilling piece, obv. Scottish lion, sejant, crowned, supporting royal arms and numbers XV., rev. rose and sun, A . DNO . FACTVM, &c., *Rud.* xxii. 6, from the Cuff sale, £27; also an angel, £17. Charles I. unit, obv. bust in armour, behind XX., rev. oval shield of arms, FLORENT CONCORDIA, &c., m.m. rose, *Rud.* xiii. 4, £21. An angel of the usual type and mark of value, X. on obv., £10. Three-pound piece, obv. three-quarters profile of king, crowned, holding a sword and olive-branch, rev. EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI, three plumes and III. for value, and inscription in three lines, RELIG . PROT . LEG . ANG . LIBER . PAR . 1644 OXON., £12 15s.; twenty-shilling piece of 1643, £10 10s. Among the silver coins were some very fine and rare siege pieces, struck during the civil war, of which several may be noticed:—A Carlisle shilling, rev. OBS . CARL . 1645, £6 12s. 6d.; a Beeston shilling, an irregular piece with castle stamped upon it, *Rud.* xxviii. 16, £20; a Scarborough crown, quadrangular piece of metal stamped with castle and V.'s, *Rud.* xxix. 3, £30; and of same place a half-crown, £15 5s.; a two-shilling, £12 5s.; a one-shilling and nine pence, £15 17s. 6d.; and a sixpence, £10; also a Colchester shilling, an oblong octagon stamped with a castle and CAROLI FORTVNA RESVRGAM, *Rud.* xxix. 7, £15 10s.; a Dublin crown, obv. CAR. II. D . G . MAG . BRIT.,

large crown, rev. FRA . ET HIB . REX F.D., in field V.'s, *Rud.* xxx. 1, £17; and a half-crown of same city, *Rud.* xxx. 2, £13. The Scotch series contained also several rarities, of which the following are the most remarkable:—Penny of Malcolm III., obv. MA.....REX, king's head, full face, and crowned, with sceptre on each side, rev. HVG.....CAS . ORT, cross fleury pellet in the angles alternately, *Lind.* i. 5, £27. Penny of David I., obv. DAVID REX, profile, with sceptre, rev. plain cross, with lis in each angle, £22. Noble, gold, of David II., obv. DAVID DEI GRA., &c., king with sword and shield in ship, rev. I.H.C. AVTEM, &c., cross fleury, lion and crown in each angle, *Lind.* xii. 2, £81. St. Andrew in gold of James II., £27 10s. Two-thirds Bonnet piece of James V., obv. bust with cap, 1540, rev. shield crowned, 1 . 5. at the sides, *Lind.* xiv. 42, £21 10s.; and a one-third Bonnet piece of same type, 1540, *Lind.* xiv. 43, £15 10s. Testoon in silver of Mary, obv. crowned bust and titles, m.m. mullet, rev. arms of Scotland, DA PACEM DOMINE, 1553, *Lind.* viii. 179, £21 10s.; and half-testoon, bust with close cap, 1561, rev. shield M. crowned on each side, SALVVM, &c., *Lind.* ix. 194, £15 10s. Gold half-lion, obv. arms and titles, rev. ECCE ANCILLA, &c., m.m. star, £18 18s.; also a rial of 1555, rev. JVSTVS FIDE VIVIT, 1555, arms crowned, *Lind.* xiv. 51, £15 10s. A forty-shilling piece in silver of James VI., obv. three-quarters bust, with sword, 1582, rev. HONOR, &c., arms crowned, &c., *Lind.* x. 209, £30 10s. Gold noble, obv. bust, m.m. crown, rev. arms, 1580, EXVRGAT, *Lind.* xv. 57, £26. Lion, 1584, obv. lion seated, holding sword and sceptre, POST 5 & 100 PROA . INVICTA MANENT HÆC, rev. ciphers, DEVS IVDICVM, &c., *Lind.* xv. 58, £17 10s.; and a two-thirds lion, 1585, of similar type, *Lind.* xv. 59, £35 10s.; and a twenty-pound piece, also in gold, of same king, obv. three-quarters bust, holding sword and olive-branch, IN VTRVMQVE PARATVS, rev. arms of Scotland crowned, PARCERE SVBIECTIS, &c., *Lind.* xv. 56, £35.

Of recent sales of coins or medals no single one has created greater interest than that of Mons. His de la Salle, of Paris, whose famous collection of Cinque-cento and later medals, and of antique and Renaissance bronzes was disposed of on the 22–25 November last. Mons. His had spent a life in forming this collection, and it well deserved the esteem in which it was held. It was formed from such important cabinets as those of the late Baron Denon, Durand, Delaborde, Janzi, Thiers, and others. The prices realised throughout the sale were unprecedently high, and in many cases, it might almost be said, too high, so far as the merit of some of the lots is concerned. In

quoting, therefore, some of the more important lots, it must be borne in mind that the prices realised in the sale are far above the average, and are, therefore, no sure criterion in a general way. The first lot was a fine proof in lead of Pisano's medal of Lionel d'Este, obv. bust of the duke l., rev. Cupid showing scroll to lion, £25 10s. Another by same artist and of same personage, rev. man seated, vase and anchors, £80. A medal of Lucretia Borgia, attributed to Pomedello, obv. bust l., £51 (this medal was not in fine condition, and was pierced in several places). Another of Giov. F. Gonzaga, obv. bust, rev. woman with spear, ADOLESCENTIÆ, &c., by Melioli, £21. A very fine medal of Malatesta Novello, rev. duke kneeling at foot of crucifix, by Pisano, £41. Another of Malatesta, rev. woman seated with broken pillar, by Matteo de Pasti, £32 10s. Another of Isotta da Rimini, rev. elephant, also by M. de Pasti, £40. Also of Piccinino, commander at Perugia and Condottiere, obv. bust l., rev. griffin, with **PERVSIA** on its collar, by Pisano, £81. Also of Alphonsus the Magnanimous, of Aragon, obv. bust in armour, rev. Mars and Bellona holding crown over king's head, by Hierimia, £31. Another of same king, by Guacciolotti, obv. bust nearly full-face, rev. triumphal entry into Naples, NEAPOLIS VICTRIX, £63. Also of Vittorino da Feltre, rev. pelican feeding its young, by Pisano, £71. Of Philippo Maria Visconti by the same artist, obv. bust of duke, rev. duke near Milan on horseback, Duomo in the distance, £59. Of Leo B. Alberti, the architect, rev. eye, by M. de Pasti, £89. Of Mahomet II., rev. the Moslem conqueror of Constantinople in biga, by Bertoldo, of Florence, £67. Of Pic de la Mirandola, by Petrecini, obv. bust r., rev. three Graces, &c., £75. Of the artist Gio Boldu by himself, rev. Genii with death's head, £40. Another also of and by the same artist, rev. OPVS, &c., MCCCCLVIII., £36. A fine medal of Francesco Sforza, obv. bust, three-quarters r., rev. front of temple, by Sperandio, £96. Also of Ottaviano Riario Sforza, Lord of Forli, obv. bust l., rev. same on horseback r., with drawn sword, £120. Of Hieronymus Santucci of Urbino, bishop, rev. Constancy leaning on pillar, by A. Guaccialotti, £50. A medal of Savonarola, not in fine condition, rev. hand issuing from clouds holding dagger, SVPER TERRAM, &c., £26. Of Julius II. de la Rovere, Pope, by Caradosso, obv. bust r., rev. Shepherd, &c., £52 10s. Of Innocent VIII., by Polliaulo, rev. symbolical figures of Justice, Peace, and Plenty, £30. Of Clement VII., rev. Joseph and his brethren, by Bernardi di Castello Bolognese, £29. Of Paul III., rev. gryphon and serpent, £67. Another of Giov. Bentivoglio, Lord of Bologna, by Sperandio, obv. bust in armour r., rev. same on horseback l.,

in bell-metal, £125. Of Carbone, the poet, rev. Calliope and Carbone, by Sperandio, a very fine specimen, £152. Alessandro Giro Vechietti, obv. bust, rev. Hope on dolphin, holds sail, sun rising, by the Médailleur à l'Espérance, £130. Of Albizza, wife of L. Tornabuoni, obv. bust r., rev. the three Graces, CASTITAS, &c., also by the Médailleur à l'Espérance, £141. Of Sarzanella A. de Manfredini, by Sperandio, rev. Prudence on throne ornamented with dogs' heads, INTE, &c., £63. Of Salviati Buondelmonti, obv. bust l., rev. ISPERO IN DIO, &c., by the Médailleur à l'Espérance, £152. The following medals by Pomedello were of great beauty and realised very high prices, viz., T. Moro, of Venice, Prefect at Vienna, rev. Phœnix in flames, £43. Magno Stefano, of Venice, &c., Neptune on dolphin, £110. Emo Giovanni, Prefect of Venice and Verona, rev. Minerva and warrior with his horse, £45. Corregia Jacoba, rev. Eros fastened to a tree, CESSI DEA, £36. A medal of Altobelli Averoli, obv. bust of bishop r., rev. two men struggling with Truth, VERITAT . D, £81; another of Antonio Pizamani, rev. three figures of Felicitas, Virtus, and Fame, £70; also of Diva Julia Astalia, obv. bust l., rev. phœnix in flames, VNICVM FOR., £91; also of Dante, rev. poet going to entrance of Hades, £20 10s. Of Pietro Bembo, attributed to Cellini, rev. Pegasus, £28. Of Aretino's wife and daughter, obv. CATERINA MATER, bust, rev. HADRIA DIVI PETRI FILIA, bust, £41. Of Cosmo II., obv. bust with spiked crown, rev. bust of Duke Alexander r., £29. A marriage-medal of Louis XII. of France, and rev. Anne of Brittany, £40. A silver medal of Francis I. of France, obv. bust l., with titles, rev. king seated crowned by Mars and Victory, VIRTVTI REGIS, &c., £70. This medal is attributed to Cellini; as also another with rev. plume, £23. Of Henri Quatre and Mary de Medici, obv. bust of king, HANRICVS (sic), &c., rev. bust of queen, by Dupré, £36. Of Cardinal Richelieu, rev. France in quadriga, attended by Victory, Fortune, and Fame, TANDEM VICTOR SEQVOR, by Warin, £31 10s. Of Charles V. (Augsburg school), obv. bust r., rev. FVNDATORI QVIETIS MDXXX. in wreath, £45. Of Philip, afterwards II. of Spain, rev. king as Alcides between Virtue and Vice, VIRTVS VOLVPTAS, HERCULES, by Leone Leoni, £30; and a fine Cinque-cento plaque of Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius, £43. This completes our list of the prices of the medals and medallions. As the plaques, friezes, and bronzes do not come within our province to give here, we must refer our readers for the prices realised by them to the catalogues of Messrs. Sotheby & Wilkinson. H. G.

# INDEX.


A.

Abdera, coin of, 3
Ab-Yatha', coin of, 303
Æthelred II., coins of, 72, 212, 229
Æthelstan, coin of, 72
Agathocles, coins of, 181, 183
Alexander the Great, coin of, 187; imitation of coins of, 303
Amphaxitis, coins of, 55
Amphipolis, coin of, 6
Antimachus, coin of, 183
Antiochus, coin of, 190
Apollonia, coins of, 272
Ares as a sun god, 49
Argyle, Duke of, medals of, 255
Artemis of Ephesus, 90
Aspendus, in Pamphylia, coins of, 48
Athenian coins, imitations of, 191
Athenian coinage, Himyaritic imitations of, 307
Athol, Duke of, medal, 257
Augustus, coin of, 317

B.

Baconsthorpe, coins found at, 75
Bactria, coins of, 181
Ballæos, coins of, 292
Berenice, coin of, 134
Bergsöe, Herr S.:—
Remarks on the uncertain coins of the Cuerdale find, 192
Bottiæans, coins of, 55
Bristol, Irish coins minted at, 74
British Museum, New Guide to Roman and Greek coins in, noticed, 180
Brooke, Rajah Sir James, 336; and Rajah Charles, coins of, 337

C.

Campbell, Captain, medal, 255
Cistophori of Ephesus, 146, 156
Cnossos, coins of, 47
Cnut, coin of, 72, 213
Cnut the Great, penny of, 226, 231
Colson, M. le Docteur:—
Notice sur une monnaie de Tarente, 15
Les médailles ordinairement attribuées à Livie, &c., 311
Craig, James, medal, 257
Creeke, Major, A.B.:—
Silver coins of Eanred and Ethelred II., 62
Crœsus at Ephesus, 97
Cuerdale find, the uncertain coins of, 192
Cunnetti, the legend, 200
Cyrene, coin of, 13
Cyzicus, coin of, 9

D.

Drummond, Mr. George, medal, 256
Drusus, coin of, 313
Dyrrhachion, coins of, 272

E.

Eadgar, coin of, 211
Eadweard II., coins of, 211
Eanred of Northumbria, coins of, 62
EBRAICE CIVITAS, the legend, 199
Edward the Confessor, coins of, 215
Edward VI., coins of, 74
Elis, coin of, 9
Elliott, George Augustus, medal, 259
Ephesus, coins of, 85

Eryx, coin of, 2
Ethelred II., coins of, 62
Eucratides, coin of, 182
EVANS, ARTHUR JOHN, ESQ., F.S.A.
On some recent discoveries of Illyrian coins, 269

F.

Finds of coins:—
Baconsthorpe, 75
Risano, 292
San'â, 303
Selci, 270
Fordyce, Dr. George, medal, 261
Fylfot, the, 18

G.

GARDNER, PERCY, ESQ., M.A.:—
Ares as a sun god, and solar symbols on the coins of Macedon and Thrace, 49
On some coins of Syria and Bactria, 181
Note on Lamia, 268
Genthios, coins of, 271
GILL, H. S., ESQ.:—
Unpublished Yorkshire tokens, seventeenth century, 234
Gordon, Lord George, medal, 259
GREENWELL, REV. CANON, F.R.S.:—
On some rare Greek coins, 1

H.

Harold I., coin of, 72
Harthacnut, coin of, 215
HEAD, BARCLAY V., ESQ.:—
On the chronological sequence of the coins of Ephesus, 85
Prix de Numismatique awarded to, 180
On a Himyaritic tetradrachm and the trésor de San'â, 303
Helmet, the Macedonian, 55
HENFREY, H. W.:—
Irish coins minted at Bristol, 74
Unpublished annulet groat of Henry V., or VI., 75
Note on Cnut the Great, 231
Henry V., or VI., annulet groat of, 75
Henry VIII., coins of, 74
HERBST, PROFESSOR C. F.:—
Some further notes on a penny of Cnut the Great, 226
Himyaritic tetradrachm, 303
Hissarlik, whorls (?) from, 38
HOARE, CAPTAIN EDWARD:—
On some early and modern Tokens bearing the name of Hoare, &c., 332
HOGG, MISS, M. A.:—
Notice of coins found at Baconsthorpe, 75
Horses' feet, method of hardening, 15
Hull Tokens, 240
Hume, David, medal, 257
Hunter, Dr. John, medal of, 260
Hunter, Dr. William, medal of, 261
Hutchison, Professor, medal, 256

I.

Illyrian coins, 269
Indian Swastika, the, 18
Irish coins minted at Bristol, 74
Iron coins, Japanese, 174

J.

Japanese coins of iron, 174
Jones, Paul, medal, 258
Julia Livia, coin attributed to, 313

L.

Lamia, coin of, 268
Lampsacus, coin of, 12
Lauderdale, Earl of, medal, 254
Lissos, coins of, 277
Livia, coins attributed to, 311
Lycia, coins of, 47

M.

Macedon, coins of, 49, 270
Magnus the Good, coin of, 230
Mahommadan Dynasties under the Khalifate, 262
Mansfield, Earl of, medal of, 258
Maria, family coin of, 317
Medals, Scottish, 253
Mélanges de Numismatique noticed, 180
Mesembria, coins of, 59
Mithradates, Ephesian gold coins of his time, 153
Moneyers, Saxon, 68
Mongols in Persia, coinage of, 320
Montrose, Marquess of, medal of, 253
MYN, coins reading, 294, 299

# INDEX.


A.

Abdera, coin of, 3
Ab-Yatha', coin of, 303
Æthelred II., coins of, 72, 212, 229
Æthelstan, coin of, 72
Agathocles, coins of, 181, 183
Alexander the Great, coin of, 187: imitation of coins of, 303
Amphaxitis, coins of, 55
Amphipolis, coin of, 6
Antimachus, coin of, 183
Antiochus, coin of, 190
Apollonia, coins of, 272
Ares as a sun god, 49
Argyle, Duke of, medals of, 255
Artemis of Ephesus, 90
Aspendus, in Pamphylia, coins of, 48
Athenian coins, imitations of, 191
Athenian coinage, Himyaritic imitations of, 307
Athol, Duke of, medal, 257
Augustus, coin of, 317

B.

Baconsthorpe, coins found at, 75
Bactria, coins of, 181
Ballæos, coins of, 292
Berenice, coin of, 134
Bergsöe, Herr S.:—
Remarks on the uncertain coins of the Cuerdale find, 192
Bottiæans, coins of, 55
Bristol, Irish coins minted at, 74
British Museum, New Guide to Roman and Greek coins in, noticed, 180
Brooke, Rajah Sir James, 336; and Rajah Charles, coins of, 337

C.

Campbell, Captain, medal, 255
Cistophori of Ephesus, 146, 156
Cnossos, coins of, 47
Cnut, coin of, 72, 213
Cnut the Great, penny of, 226, 231
Colson, M. le Docteur:—
Notice sur une monnaie de Tarente, 15
Les médailles ordinairement attribuées à Livie, &c., 311
Craig, James, medal, 257
Creeke, Major, A.B.:—
Silver coins of Eanred and Ethelred II., 62
Crœsus at Ephesus, 97
Cuerdale find, the uncertain coins of, 192
Cunnetti, the legend, 200
Cyrene, coin of, 13
Cyzicus, coin of, 9

D.

Drummond, Mr. George, medal, 256
Drusus, coin of, 313
Dyrrhachion, coins of, 272

E.

Eadgar, coin of, 211
Eadweard II., coins of, 211
Eanred of Northumbria, coins of, 62
EBRAICE CIVITAS, the legend, 199
Edward the Confessor, coins of, 215
Edward VI., coins of, 74
Elis, coin of, 9
Elliott, George Augustus, medal, 259
Ephesus, coins of, 85

Eryx, coin of, 2
Ethelred II., coins of, 62
Eucratides, coin of, 182
EVANS, ARTHUR JOHN, ESQ., F.S.A.
On some recent discoveries of Illyrian coins, 269

F.

Finds of coins:—
Baconsthorpe, 75
Risano, 292
San'â, 303
Selci, 270
Fordyce, Dr. George, medal, 261
Fylfot, the, 18

G.

GARDNER, PERCY, ESQ., M.A.:—
Ares as a sun god, and solar symbols on the coins of Macedon and Thrace, 49
On some coins of Syria and Bactria, 181
Note on Lamia, 268
Genthios, coins of, 271
GILL, H. S., ESQ.:—
Unpublished Yorkshire tokens, seventeenth century, 234
Gordon, Lord George, medal, 259
GREENWELL, REV. CANON, F.R.S.:—
On some rare Greek coins, 1

H.

Harold I., coin of, 72
Harthacnut, coin of, 215
HEAD, BARCLAY V., ESQ.:—
On the chronological sequence of the coins of Ephesus, 85
Prix de Numismatique awarded to, 180
On a Himyaritic tetradrachm and the trésor de San'â, 303
Helmet, the Macedonian, 55
HENFREY, H. W.:—
Irish coins minted at Bristol, 74
Unpublished annulet groat of Henry V., or VI., 75
Note on Cnut the Great, 231
Henry V., or VI., annulet groat of, 75
Henry VIII., coins of, 74
HERBST, PROFESSOR C. F.:—
Some further notes on a penny of Cnut the Great, 226
Himyaritic tetradrachm, 303
Hissarlik, whorls (?) from, 38
HOARE, CAPTAIN EDWARD:—
On some early and modern Tokens bearing the name of Hoare, &c., 332
HOGG, MISS, M. A.:—
Notice of coins found at Baconsthorpe, 75
Horses' feet, method of hardening, 15
Hull Tokens, 240
Hume, David, medal, 257
Hunter, Dr. John, medal of, 260
Hunter, Dr. William, medal of, 261
Hutchison, Professor, medal, 256

I.

Illyrian coins, 269
Indian Swastika, the, 18
Irish coins minted at Bristol, 74
Iron coins, Japanese, 174

J.

Japanese coins of iron, 174
Jones, Paul, medal, 258
Julia Livia, coin attributed to, 313

L.

Lamia, coin of, 268
Lampsacus, coin of, 12
Lauderdale, Earl of, medal, 254
Lissos, coins of, 277
Livia, coins attributed to, 311
Lycia, coins of, 47

M.

Macedon, coins of, 49, 270
Magnus the Good, coin of, 230
Mahommadan Dynasties under the Khalifate, 262
Mansfield, Earl of, medal of, 258
Maria, family coin of, 317
Medals, Scottish, 253
Mélanges de Numismatique noticed, 180
Mesembria, coins of, 59
Mithradates, Ephesian gold coins of his time, 153
Moneyers, Saxon, 68
Mongols in Persia, coinage of, 320
Montrose, Marquess of, medal of, 253
MYN, coins reading, 294, 299

N.

Northumbrian silver coins, 62
Numismatische Zeitschrift noticed, 179

O.

ON, its meaning on Saxon coins, 68
Orthagoria, coin of, 56

P.

PATRICK, R. W. COCHRAN, ESQ., F.S.A.SCOT :—
Notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland, No. V., 253
Perseus, coins of, 55
Persia, Mongol coins of, 320
Peterborough, coins struck for, 220
Pharia, coins struck at, 297
Philetærus, coins of, 144
Philip II. of Macedon, coin of, 7
Philip V., coin of, 55
POOLE, S. LANE, ESQ. :—
A scheme of the Mahommadan Dynasties under the Khalifate, 262
POWNALL, THE REV CANON F.S.A.:
Coins of the Stafford Mint, 66
Prix de Numismatique, 180
Proconsular cistophori of Ephesus, 156

Q.

QUENTOVICI, the legend, 199

R.

Rhegium, coin of, 1
Rhizon, coins of, 292
Rhodian Standard, the, 110
Roman coins, find of, 175

S.

Sales of coins noticed, 77, 80, 337
Sarawak, coinage of, 336
SCHINDLER, GENL. A. HOUTUM :—
The coinage of the decline of the Mongols in Persia, 320
Scottish medals, 253
Seleucidæ, coins of, 189
Sesostris, statues of, 88
SHARP, SAMUEL, ESQ., F.S.A., F.G.S. :—
The Stamford Mint, Supplement, 205
Shield, the Macedonian, 56
Siefriedus, coins of, 198
Skodra, coins of, 269
Solar symbols, 18, 49
Stafford Mint, the, 66
Stamford Mint, the, 205
Stars on coins, 55
Stephen, coin of, 73
Stycas struck in silver, 62
ΣΥΝ on coins of Ephesus, 110
Syracuse, coins of, 46
Syria, coins of, 181

T.

Tabriz, coins struck at, 320
Tarentum, coin of, 15
Thasos, coin of, 5
THOMAS, EDWARD, ESQ., F.R.S. :—
The Indian Swastika and its western counterparts, 18
Thrace, coins of, 49
Thracian Ares, the, 60
Tiberius, coins of, 313
Tokens, Yorkshire, 234
Tokens with name of Hoare, 332

U.

Ujjain, coins of, 45
Uranopolis, coins of, 58

W.

Wheel, a solar symbol, 57
WHITE, JAMES, ESQ., F.G.S.:—
The Iron Money of the Japanese, 174
William I., coin of, 72, 220
William II., coin of, 72, 220

Y.

Yorkshire tokens, 234

Z.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik noticed, 177

THE END.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

## SESSION 1879—80.

OCTOBER 16, 1879.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., V.P.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Ernest Charles Krumbholtz was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Diobole inédit du tyran Satyros, par F. Bompois, 1879. From the Author.

2. Bulletino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica, 1879. Nos. 5—9. From the Institute.

3. Jahresbericht der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1878. From the Society.

4. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. N.S. Livraisons 105—109. From the Society.

5. Mélanges de Numismatique, 1878. Pts. I. and II. From the Editors.

6. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, vol. iv., No. 36. From the Association.

7. Leaden Medal in Commemoration of the Demolition of Temple Bar, 1878. From the Corporation of London.

8. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft. 64 and 65, with Register of vols. i.—xx., 1879. From the Society.

9. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1879. Liv. 3. From the Society.

10. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. vii., Heft 1 to 3. From the Editor.

11. Monnaies des Souverains de Suède frappées dans les Provinces Baltiques et en Allemagne, by the Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

12. Le Rouble de l'Empereur Constantin de Russie. By the Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

13. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. xi., Part III. From the Society.

14. Smithsonian Report for 1877. From the Smithsonian Institution.

15. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. xviii., No. 102. From the Society.

16. Royal Irish Academy: Transactions. Vol. xxvi., Pts. XVIII.—XXI. Proceedings, vol. i., series ii., No. 13; vol. iii., series ii., No. 3. From the Academy.

17. Aeneidea, or Critical, &c., Remarks on the Aeneis. Vol. ii., 1879. By J. Henry. From the Author.

18. Series of English Coins in Copper, Tin, and Bronze. By J. Henry. From the Author.

19. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. vii., No. 4, 1879. From the Society.

20. Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, 1876, with Atlas. From the Commission.

Mr. Evans exhibited an unpublished variety of the gold crown of Henry VIII. *Obv.* HENRIC' . D' . G' . RVTILANS . ROSA . SINE SP; mint-mark, an arrow; a crowned shield with the arms of France and England, on either side H. R. crowned. *Rev.* DEI . GRA' . AGL' . FRA' . Z . HIB' . REX, a rose crowned between H. and R. crowned. The coin, Mr. Evans

thought, was of the last year of Henry VIII., the legend being entirely in Roman letters, and the gold apparently of somewhat base alloy. The principal peculiarity consisted in the name of the king being on the side with the shield, and not on that with the rose.

Mr. Copp exhibited proofs in gold of the penny, halfpenny, and farthing of the copper coinage of 1861.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited a farthing of Charles II., 1673, reading CAROLVS A CAROLA (*sic*): also specimens of the copper coinage of Cyprus under British rule, 1879, and of the new copper coinage of Jersey, 1877, consisting of $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{24}$, and $\frac{1}{48}$ of a shilling, instead of $\frac{1}{13}$, $\frac{1}{26}$, and $\frac{1}{52}$ of a shilling.

Mr. Thomas communicated a paper "On the Indian Swastica or Mystic Cross," a symbol frequently occurring on coins as well as other ancient monuments. See vol. xx., p. 18.

Papers were also communicated by Mr. Henfrey on some small errors contained in Mr. Kenyon's new edition of Hawkins's work (see p. 226), and by Dr. Aquilla Smith, "On Irish Coins of Henry VIII."

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NOVEMBER 20, 1879.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Macedonia, 1879. By Barclay V. Head. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. vii. No. 6, with title and index to vol. vii. From the Society.

3. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. viii. No. 1. From the Society.

The Rev. Canon Pownall exhibited a coin of one of the types of Edward the Confessor struck at Thetford, but bearing instead of the name of Edward that of EADRED REX, and on the reverse ATSER ON THETFOR—Atser being a known Thetford moneyer of Edward the Confessor. Canon Pownall also exhibited some counterfeit base shillings of Edward VI. without any trace of silver remaining upon them.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper "On some Coins brought from Kashgar by Sir Douglas Forsyth." Among these were two of iron, probably of a local issue. One of them bore a name resembling that of Hermæus, the Greek king of Bactria, in Aryan letters, and on the reverse some apparently Chinese characters.

Mr. H. Howorth supplemented the paper with a short dissertation on the ancient geography of Kashgar. See vol. xix., p. 271.

Mr. J. White read a paper "On the Iron Money of the Japanese," and exhibited a selection of twenty specimens, together with a bronze coin of the same size, equal in value to the twenty iron coins. See vol. xx., p. 174.

Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick, F.S.A.Scot., contributed some Notes towards the Metallic History of Scotland.

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DECEMBER 18, 1879.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Alexander Durlacher, Esq., and J. W. Fowkes, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. v., Series 4, No. 38, April, 1879. From the Society.

2. Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, Bulletin historique. N.S. 111th livraison, 1879. From the Society.

3. Additional Notes on Coins exhibited at the Pennsylvania Museum. By B. H. Phillips, junior, A.M. From the Author.

Miss M. A. Hogg communicated a paper on a find of late Roman coins in the parish of Baconsthorpe, Norfolk (printed in vol. xx., p. 75); and Mr. P. Gardner a paper "On the Coins of Elis." (Vol. xix., p. 221.) In this paper the writer attempted a chronological arrangement of the rich and beautiful series of the Elean money. He divided the history of Elis into fifteen periods, beginning about B.C. 480, and ending A.D. 217. To each of these periods Mr. Gardner assigned coins, the silver staters of the earlier periods being probably issued in greater quantities at the period of the Olympic festivals than during the intervals. More care appears also to have been bestowed upon the coinage at Elis than elsewhere, and the types constantly change, facts which indicate that they were used rather in the place of issue than abroad.

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JANUARY 15, 1880.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Carr Stephen, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following present was announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Tome xvi., 1876—79. 1ère partie. From the Society.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a shilling of Charles II., 1663, with the arms on the reverse blundered; a crown of William III., 1696, reading GEI GRATIA (*sic*); a shilling of the same year, with a capital Y (for York); a shilling of Anne, 1711, with the younger bust, although the old or fourth bust had appeared on a shilling of the previous year.

Mr. Henfrey sent for exhibition a drawing of an Anglo-Saxon sceatta found near Eastbourne, similar to Ruding, Plate I. 35.

Mr. R. Hoblyn exhibited specimens of the copper coinage of Sarawak, consisting of the cent, half-cent, and quarter-cent, 1863, of Sir J. Brooke, Rajah, also of the same denominations of 1870 and 1879 of C. J. Brooke, Rajah. Mr. Hoblyn likewise showed proofs in silver of the gun-metal crown of James II., and of the white-metal crown with the inscribed edge of the same monarch.

The Rev. Canon Greenwell, F.R.S., read a paper on some rare and beautiful Greek coins in his own cabinet. Among them were a tetradrachm of the town of Eryx in Sicily, an octadrachm of Abdera, a magnificent tetradrachm of Amphipolis, and a remarkable Cyzicene stater bearing an undoubted portrait. See vol. xx., p. 1.

The Rev. Canon Pownall read a paper "On Anglo-Saxon Coins struck at Stafford." See vol. xx., p. 66.

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MARCH 18, 1880.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

G. W. Egmont Bieber, Esq., J. W. Trist, Esq., and A. Winthrop Young, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. vii., Part IV. From the Editor.

2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London. Vol. viii., No. 1. From the Society.

3. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. 28me année. N.S., 112me livraison. From the Society.

4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'ouest, 1879. 4me trimestre. From the Society.

5. Bulletino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica per l'anno 1880. Nos. 1 and 2. From the Institute.

6. On the origin and transmission of some of the principal ancient systems of weight as applied to money from the earliest times down to the age of Alexander the Great. By Barclay V. Head. From the Author.

7. The Worship of the Sun, as illustrated by a coin of Constantine the Great. By H. Phillips, Junior. From the Author.

8. Dolmens in Japan. By E. S. Morse. From the Author.

The Rev. Canon Pownall exhibited and communicated some notes on the following coins: 1. A base shilling of James I., countermarked as a siege-piece of Kilkenny; 2. A sixpence of Queen Elizabeth, 1564, countermarked with the arms of Zealand; 3. A testoon of Edward VI., countermarked in the reign of Elizabeth with a portcullis before the face of the king, and ordered to pass for fourpence half-penny; 4. A penny of Stephen, from the collection of Mr. Young, of Leicester, struck at the Nottingham mint, and countermarked with a cross sufficiently large to deface the king's image, and thus to convert it into money of the Empress Matilda.

Dr. Pauli exhibited a paper coin, 1574, struck from church Bibles during the siege of Leyden; also a large silver medal, struck to commemorate the sitting of the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619, and other coins.

Mr. B. V. Head read the first portion of a paper "On the Chronological Sequence of the Autonomous Coins of Ephesus," in which he brought down the history of Ephesus from the earliest times to the end of the fifth century B.C. See vol. xx., p. 85.

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April 15, 1880.

John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Robert Watts, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletino dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica, No. 3, 1880. From the Institute.

2. Notice sur une monnaie inédite à l'effigie d'Alexandre le Grand de la ville de Chersonèse, par M. P. Vacquier. From the Author.

3. Médaille de St. Vladimir frappée dans la ville de Chersonèse, par M. P. Vacquier. From the Author.

4. British Military and Naval Medals and Decorations. By J. Harris Gibson. From the Author.

5. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1880. 2me livraison. From the Society.

6. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. viii., No. 2. From the Society.

7. A Chinese work in two volumes, with illustrations, on European Numismatics, and a work in six volumes on Japanese Numismatics. From James White, Esq., F.R.A.S.

Mr. Sheriff Mackenzie exhibited two Durham pennies of Edward II., having the limbs of the cross on the reverse formed of two croziers instead of one, as on Bishop Kellow's coins.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited two proofs in silver and one in copper (gilt) of the Paris Mining Company's Anglesea tokens, two varieties, 1787 and 1788.

Mr. Hoblyn brought for exhibition twenty varieties of the shilling of Charles II., many of them of great beauty, and some extremely rare.

Mr. A. Durlacher exhibited a fine specimen of the 1666 crown of Charles II., with the elephant under the bust; a sixpence of William III., 1700, with a minute plume under the bust; a very fine shilling of James II., 1685, and a sixpence of 1686; also, a milled shilling of Elizabeth, with the star mint-mark.

Dr. A. Colson communicated a paper on the meaning of a well-known reverse type of a coin of Tarentum of the fourth

century B.C., on which a youth is represented kneeling beneath a horse and examining his hoof. Dr. Colson pointed out that he could not be shoeing the horse, as some have supposed, as the Greeks never shod their horses, but hardened their hoofs by causing them constantly to stand and exercise upon hard stones. See vol. xx. p. 15.

Mr. S. Sharp sent a paper on some new coins of the Stamford Mint (vol. xx. p. 205); and Mr. B. V. Head read the second portion of his paper "On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Ephesus."

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MAY 20, 1880.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the chair.

The Hon. J. Gibbs and Dr. W. Pauli were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 1re livraison, 1864, and 4me livraison, 1879. From the Society.

2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. xii., Part II., New Series. From the Society.

3. Article on some Modern Monetary Questions. By Robert N. Toppan, 1880. From the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.

4. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. v. 4th series. From the Society.

5. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. 118me livraison. From the Society.

Sir A. Phayre exhibited a silver coin lately found in Pegu, said to be of the tenth or eleventh century. The coin had on the obverse a conch shell with a crab inside it.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited an original warrant, dated February

14th, 1627, to Sir W. Parkhurst, Warden of the Mint, altering the value of certain gold and silver coins; also a selection of rare milled shillings from Elizabeth to George III.

Mr. Krumbholz exhibited a proof in gold of a Keepang piece of 1788 of the East India Company; also two rare Oxford pound pieces, of 1642 and 1644, and an unpublished variety of a twenty-shilling Scottish piece of Charles I., with the letter F under the horse's feet.

Mr. Copp exhibited a portion of a hoard of late Roman denarii found at a farm called Rheworthen Isa, near Aberystwith, Cardiganshire.

Mr. H. S. Gill communicated a paper "On Unpublished Seventeenth-Century Yorkshire Tokens, with Contemporary Notes on some of the Issuers of Hull and other Towns." (Vol. xx. p. 284.) In the paper Mr. Gill describes about fifty new types.

Mr. L. Bergsöe, of Copenhagen, communicated a paper, in which he discussed the place of mintage, &c., of certain coins of the Cuerdale find. Vol. xx. p. 192.

General A. H. Schindler communicated a short paper on some unpublished Mohammedan coins acquired by him during a recent tour in Kerman (Caramania). These coins were for the most part struck by Abu Said Bahadur Khan, last Moghul Emperor of Persia, and by Shah Rukh. See vol. xx., p. 820.

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JUNE 17, 1880.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

Charles Chisholm Davison, Esq., and John M. C. Johnston,

Esq., were elected; and James Whittall, Esq., was re-admitted as a Member of the Society.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and have to announce their loss of the following members:—*

| | |
|---|---|
| G. H. N. Bridges, Esq. | W. Lake Price, Esq. |
| C. Camerino, Esq. | Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq. |
| The Rev. A. H. Cummings. | Joseph B. Ripley, Esq. |
| J. Fonrobert, Esq. | W. A. Savile, Esq. |
| Dr. J. M. Foster. | Mr. W. Strickland. |
| Major Hay, H.E.I.C.S. | Samuel Wood, Esq., F.S.A. |

And of our honorary members:—

Monsieur Henri Cohen.
Monsieur de la Saussaye.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the seventeen following members:—

| | |
|---|---|
| G. W. Egmont Bieber, Esq. | Carr Stephen, Esq. |
| C. Chisholm Davison, Esq. | W. Theobald, Esq. |
| A. Durlacher, Esq. | J. W. Trist, Esq. |
| J. W. Fowkes, Esq. | R. Watts, Esq. |
| The Hon. J. Gibbs. | H. E. Williams, Esq. |
| N. Heywood, Esq. | James Whittall, Esq. |
| M. C. Johnston, Esq. | W. W. Wroth, Esq. |
| E. C. Krumbholtz, Esq. | A. W. Young, Esq. |
| W. Pauli, Esq., M.D. | |

* Since the above was written the Council has further to record the deaths of D. B. Wingrove, Esq., and of our honorary member M. F. de Saulcy, Membre de l'Institut.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

| | Elected. | Honorary. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| June, 1879 . . . . . | 192 | 39 | 231 |
| Since elected . . . . . | 17 | — | 17 |
| | 209 | 39 | 248 |
| Deceased . . . . . | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Resigned . . . . . | 5 | — | 5 |
| Erased . . . . . | 3 | — | 3 |
| June, 1880 . . . . . | 197 | 37 | 234 |

The President then delivered the following address :—

I have again the satisfaction of addressing you at the close of another session, during which our meetings have maintained their interest, and have on the whole been fairly attended. As you will have heard from the Report of the Council, and the statement of the Treasurer, our numbers as well as our finances testify to the Society being in a prosperous condition.

The Papers which have been communicated to us during the last twelve months have neither been few nor unimportant, especially in the department of ancient numismatics. Canon Greenwell, F.R.S., has brought under the notice of the Society some of the more remarkable Greek coins in his collection which are conspicuous either for their rarity or their artistic merit, or for both. The autotype plates which illustrate his paper show how admirably the modern process of photographic reproduction is adapted for conveying to the spectator those wonderful features of ancient art which are beyond the skill of any engraver to portray with perfect accuracy and vigour. Of the coins themselves, the tetradrachm of Eryx with Aphrodite—*Erycina ridens*—and Eros on the obverse, is perhaps the rarest, having been hitherto unpublished. Others of the coins are, however, finer as works of art, but the Cyzicene stater with a

bearded and bald laureate head on the obverse is, I think, the most remarkable. There is nothing divine in the character of this head, but a great deal that is unmistakably human, so that it can hardly be otherwise than a portrait. As the coin must belong to the early part of the fourth century B.C., it would appear as if this were the first portrait of a living man ever placed upon a coin; but who it was who was thus honoured is, I fear, almost beyond conjecture.

Our veteran foreign member Dr. A. Colson, de Noyon, has furnished us with a short note on a coin of Tarentum, in which he has adduced some curious evidence as to the manner in which the feet of horses were hardened, when as yet horse-shoes were not in use.

Our most important papers during the past year have, however, been those which form the commencement of a series on the numismatics of some Greek province, island, or important city. In each paper it is proposed to divide the history of the particular place of which it treats into periods, and to each period an attempt will be made to assign its proper coins. By this means history and numismatic monuments can be made to mutually illustrate each other, and the historical value of the coins will be much enhanced. How much can be done in this direction has already been shown by Mr. Head's admirable essay upon the coins of Syracuse, which virtually forms a part of this series of papers, which when complete will constitute a repertory of numismatic knowledge such as has not appeared since the days of Eckhel.

Mr. Percy Gardner has discussed for us the coinage of Elis, the history of which district he has divided into no less than fifteen distinct periods, to nearly all of which coins can be assigned with comparative certainty. The occurrence of the letters ΔΑ on the field of a didrachm which from its character is assigned to the period when Dædalus of Sicyon flourished, raises, as Mr. Gardner observes, a question which is worthy the attention of both numismatists and archæologists, inas-

much as up to the present time there is no conclusive evidence of any distinguished Greek sculptor having also been an engraver of dies.

Mr. Gardner's suggestion that ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ is the name of a local nymph, and not merely a surname of Hera, may also possibly give rise to discussion; but the reasons he furnishes for his opinion appear to me sound and valid. It is not, however, necessary or desirable here to give any lengthened résumé of the paper, as it is one which both for its value and its interest will raise the Numismatic Chronicle in the estimation of its readers, whether English or foreign.

Mr. Barclay V. Head's elaborate paper on the chronological sequence of the coins of Ephesus comes next in the series, and ranks fully as high as the memoirs which have gone before it. In the history of this city some thirteen periods may be distinguished, and even as early as about B.C. 407 the names of the Ephesian magistrates begin to appear upon the coins. Mr. Head has been able to show that the office of this magistrate or Eponymus was in all probability annual, and that we have upon the coins the names of the first Prytanis, and not of the archon nor of the high priest of each year. His view receives remarkable proof from an inscription discovered by Mr. Wood at Ephesus, on which occur the names of four Eponymi of successive years, three of whom are already known from coins, and the fourth, ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ, will doubtless eventually make his appearance. In another inscription and in a passage in Josephus the names of two other Prytaneis occur, and these also are found upon coins, the periods of which coincide with the dates assigned to Badromios and Menophilos on other grounds. There can, I think, be little doubt that future discoveries will strengthen rather than impair Mr. Head's position; and we must all feel grateful to our assiduous Honorary Secretary for having contributed so valuable and important a paper to our pages. I may also venture to take this opportunity of congratulating him on his well-deserved honour in

receiving from the French Institute the Prix de Numismatique, founded by the late Allier de Hauteroche, for his Essay on the Coinage of Lydia and Persia.

Mr. Gardner has favoured us with two other papers. One of these, on some coins brought from Kashgar by Sir Douglas Forsyth, calls especial attention to two ancient coins of iron, one of them probably of Hermæus, and apparently presenting on one face an inscription in Chinese characters. It is remarkable that any coin formed of iron should have been preserved through so many centuries; but the desert of Gobi appears to be almost rainless, so that there is a probability of other specimens of this singular coinage being discovered, which it may be hoped will throw light on the early relations between China and the northern districts of India.

Mr. Howorth, in a note appended to Mr. Gardner's paper, cites some passages from the annals of the Elder Han relative to the coinages of Kophene and Parthia, which prove that those countries were well known to Chinese travellers.

The other Paper by Mr. Gardner relates to Ares as a Sun-god, symbolized by the *Swastika* and other emblems, traces of whose worship are to be found on coins both of Macedon and Thrace. One of the most remarkable of the author's conclusions is that the laureate head on the staters of Philip II., which by different authors has been regarded as that of Apollo or the youthful Hercules, is in fact that of Ares. The coin of the Mamertini adduced by Mr. Gardner affords strong corroborative evidence of the correctness of his conclusions. The Macedonian engravers would probably have been lost in surprise could one of our ancient British coins, say from the Yorkshire district, have been placed before them with the information that the obverse design, consisting of rectangular and triangular lumps, was neither more nor less than a copy of the head of Ares on the Stater of Philippus.

Mr. Edward Thomas, in his paper on the Indian Swastika, finds in it also the symbol of solar worship; but is able to trace a large

number of other derivative or analogous forms as being connected with the worship of the sun.

We have had but one paper during the past year on the subject of Roman numismatics—a notice by Miss Hogg of the hoard of Roman coins found at Barningham, Norfolk. Like many other hoards found in this country, the coins it comprised ranged from the time of Gordian III. until that of Tetricus and Aurelian. Not a single coin of any of the earlier Emperors was present, and in this respect such hoards present a marked contrast to that of Procolitia, on which I ventured last year to make a few remarks.

The coins of the Saxon Period have also attracted but little attention during the past year, though Major Creeke has called attention to upwards of twenty of the coins of Eanred and Ethelred II. of Northumberland, which are struck in silver more or less pure, instead of being as usual of copper. The striking of coins with the same dies in metal which was sometimes silver and sometimes copper or brass, and sometimes a mixture of these metals, does not to my mind imply that there were different denominations of coins with the same devices upon them; but rather suggests the idea of Roman coins, whether of silver, billon, or copper, having been melted down to reappear in new forms from the Northumbrian Mint, the image and superscription and not their metal giving the current value to the new pieces.

Mr. Bergsöe, of Copenhagen, has also favoured us with a paper on some of the coins of the Cuerdale hoard, and is inclined to assign the pennies reading **EBRAICE, CVNETTI** and **QVENTOVICI** to Evreux, Condé, and Quentovic, a town probably now Étaples, in the north of France. The truth of this view will perhaps be best tested by the presence or absence in the neighbourhood of these towns of the coins bearing these inscriptions.

With regard to some of the later Saxon and Norman coins, Canon Pownall has raised an interesting question in his paper

on the coins of the Stafford Mint. He has not only added materially to the number of the coins struck at that town, but again renewed his suggestion that the word ON, on these coins, means "in" and not "of," and that the same moneyers had offices in different towns, or it may be moved from place to place. Such a view is well worthy of consideration, and certainly the occurrence of the uncommon name of COLINC or CVLINC on coins of the same period struck at Tamworth and Stafford towns, but some twenty miles apart, is more in accordance with the same moneyer working both mints than with there being two Colincs as neighbouring moneyers.

Mr. Sharp has communicated to us a supplementary list of the coins struck at the Stamford Mint, of which, notwithstanding the cession of some few coins to the mint of Stafford, he has now catalogued nearly 800 coins.

Coming down to more recent times, our honorary member, Dr. Aquilla Smith, has given us papers on the Irish silver coins of Henry VIII., and on the Irish coins of James I., accompanied in each case by some curious documentary evidence. Mr. Henfrey has also given us a note on some Irish coins minted at Bristol, and some short notices of rare English coins. Tradesmen's tokens have not escaped our attention, Mr. H. S. Gill having communicated a paper on the unpublished Yorkshire Tokens of the seventeenth century, and the Rev. Dr. Adams on the dates of those issued in more modern times. In Oriental numismatics General Schindler has communicated to us some unpublished coins from Caramania, while Mr. White has described the singular iron money of the Japanese. So small is the current value of these coins that a hundred of them are hardly worth a farthing, and how it can possibly answer the purpose of any authority to cast 100 pieces of any metal to represent so small a value is a mystery only to be solved in Japan. That such coins should serve as alms to beggars and as devotional offerings does not appear so unnatural even in Europe.

Such is a brief account of the communications which we have received during the past year, but I must not omit to notice the numerous exhibitions of coins and medals at our meetings which have added materially to their interest and to the gratification of those present, though I have sometimes wished that the spectators had been more numerous.

The Report of the Council has shown to you that while our accessions have been numerous, our losses by death have been but few. We have indeed lost only four subscribing members. One of them is Major Hay, who was a diligent collector of Greek, Roman, Bactrian, and English coins. The greater part of his life was spent in active service in India, but he returned to this country about the year 1857, bringing with him an extensive collection of coins; among which were two of Diodotus in gold—which were, I believe, the first seen in this country. For some years previous to his death he was a great sufferer from ill-health, and took but little active part in his favourite pursuit.

The others are Dr. John Foster, who was also an old Indian, and Mr. Samuel Wood, F.S.A.; and among our foreign honorary members I deeply regret to have to record the death of M. Henri Cohen, of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, whose comprehensive knowledge of Roman coins was probably unrivalled, and whose writings are indispensable to collectors. Those by which he was best known are his "Médailles Consulaires," published in 4to in 1857, and his "Médailles Impériales," in seven volumes 8vo, published between 1859 and 1868. The amount of labour bestowed on the preparation of these works is almost incredible, and the patience with which M. Cohen set himself to the herculean task of preparing a new and revised edition of the "Médailles Impériales" is beyond all praise. Unfortunately his labours have been cut short by his death, which took place just as he had seen the first volume of his new edition through the press. Who shall complete his work?

It remains for me now to thank you for the attention with which, on this as on other occasions, you have listened to my remarks, and to express a hope that the third series of the Numismatic Chronicle, which will have commenced before our next anniversary meeting, may rival and even excel in value the two series which have gone before it.

The Treasurer's Report is appended :—

## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1879, to June, 1880.

*Dr.* THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREAS. *Cr.*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part 73 | 33 | 3 | 10 |
| „ ditto ditto ditto Part 74 | 27 | 4 | 3 |
| „ ditto ditto ditto Part 75 | 25 | 16 | 4 |
| „ ditto ditto ditto Part 76 | 34 | 9 | 0 |
| „ The Autotype Company | 43 | 7 | 9 |
| „ The purchase of £92 0*s.* 11*d.* 3 per cent. Consols, 98⅛ (making a total of £500) = £90 6*s.* 5*d.*, brokerage 2*s.* 6*d.* | 90 | 8 | 11 |
| „ Broker's charges for transferring Stock into the names of Messrs. Evans, Vaux, and Copp | 0 | 6 | 3 |
| „ Messrs. Davy and Son, for Printing | 3 | 12 | 4 |
| „ J. Ayres, one year's Rent to Christmas, 1879 | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| „ ditto gratuity for Attendance | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| „ ditto for Coffee, Postage, &c. | 3 | 16 | 10 |
| „ F. J. Lees, for Etching | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| „ E. Watson, Bookbinder | 9 | 10 | 8 |
| „ Messrs. Partridge and Cooper, for Slips for Library | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| „ R. O. Hearson, for Stationery | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| „ Fire Insurance on £500 | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| „ Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, Stationery, &c. | 1 | 12 | 0 |
| „ Secretary, for Postages, &c. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| „ Collector, for Commission, Postages, &c. | 3 | 4 | 9 |
| „ Balance | 81 | 4 | 2 |
| | £398 | 2 | 7 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By Balance from last Statement | 142 | 15 | 5 |
| „ Compositions | 54 | 12 | 0 |
| „ Entrance Fees | 14 | 14 | 0 |
| „ Annual Subscriptions | 120 | 15 | 0 |
| „ Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles | 49 | 6 | 8 |
| „ Thomas B. Winser, for Chronicles | 7 | 14 | 0 |
| „ J. H. Marsden, for Chronicles | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| „ Remittance for Postage | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| „ Half-year's Dividend on £305 17*s.* 10*d.*, due Jan. 7 | 4 | 9 | 11 |
| „ „ „ on £102 1*s.* 3*d.* due „ | 1 | 10 | 7 |
| | £398 | 2 | 7 |
| By Balance in hand | £81 | 4 | 2 |

ALFRED E. COPP, HON. TREASURER.

The meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

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*Vice-Presidents.*

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# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

## NEW SERIES. VOLS. XI.—XX.

## INDEX I.

### NAMES OF THE AUTHORS AND OF THE PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY THEM.


ADAMS, Rev. B. W., D.D., M.R.I.A.:—
Note on Tradesmen's Tokens. xv. 168.
On the Dates of some Modern Tradesmen's Tokens. xvii. 157.
On the Dates of Issue of some undated Modern Tradesmen's Tokens. xix. 191.

ALLEN, WILLIAM, Esq.:—
Note on a Find of Coins near Shillington, Bedfordshire. xi. 227.

ARNOLD, T. J., Esq., F.S.A.:—
On the St. Bartholomew Medal with "VGONOTTORVM STRAGES." xii. 216.
On the French Medals struck on the intended Invasion of England by Napoleon I. xii. 266.
Notice of "Νομίσματα τῆς νῆσου Ἀμόργου καὶ τῶν τριῶν αὐτῆς πόλεων." xiii. 125.
On a Coin of Antoninus Pius. xiii. 130.
Medal of the Order of "La Mouche à Miel." xvi. 396.

BABINGTON, Rev. CHURCHILL, B.D.:—
On Coins of Henry I. found near Battle. xiii. 175.
On some Unpublished or Little-known Coins of the Romans relating to Britain. xiv. 81.
Account of Roman Silver Coins, found at Lavenham, Suffolk. xv. 140.

BERGSÖE, Herr S.:—
Critical Remarks on the Uncertain Coins of the Cuerdale Find. xx. 192.

BOMPOIS, Monsieur H. FERDINAND:—
Explication d'un Didrachme inédit de la Ville d'Ichnae (Macédoine). xiv. 177. Appendice. xiv. 273.

COCHRAN-PATRICK, R. W., Esq., M.P., F.S.A.Scot.:—
Notice of some Unpublished Varieties of Scottish Coins. xi. 283.
Unpublished Varieties of Scottish Coins. xii. 235.
Notes on the Annals of the Scottish Coinage. xii. 16, 83, 242; xiii. 41, 134; xiv. 118, 229, 317.
Note on a Discovery of Sterlings in Ayr. xiv. 351.
Unpublished and Rare Varieties of Scottish Coins. xv. 157.
Notes towards a Metallic History of Scotland. xvii. 57; xviii. 73, 291; xix. 142; xx. 253.
Note on some Mint Accounts of the Coinage of Scotland, after the Accession of James VI. xix. 66.

COLSON, Dr. ALEXANDRE:—
Notice sur une Monnaie de Tarente au revers de laquelle

on a cru voir un personnage plaçant un fer au pied d'un cheval. xx. 15.
Les médailles ordinairement attribuées à Livie, &c. xx. 311.
CREEKE, MAJOR A. B.:—
Unpublished Varieties of Anglo-Saxon and English Coins. xvi. 150.
On Silver Coins of Eanred and Ethelred II. of Northumbria. xx. 62.
CUNNINGHAM, MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER, R.E.:—
Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East (*continued from vol. x.*) xii. 157; xiii. 187.

EVANS, ARTHUR JOHN, ESQ., F.S.A.:—
On a Hoard of Coins found at Oxford; with some Remarks on the Coinage of the first three Edwards. xi. 264.
On some Recent Discoveries of Illyrian Coins. xx. 269.
EVANS, JOHN, ESQ., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.:—
Translation of Herr Schive's paper on the Weights of English and Northern Coins. xi. 42.
On a Hoard of English Gold Coins found at St. Alban's; with some Remarks on the Early Coins of Edward VI. xii. 186.
Further Remarks on the Short-Cross Question. xv. 152.
On three Roman Medallions of Postumus, Commodus, and Probus. xvii. 334.
The Portcullis Groat of Henry VII. xviii. 285.
On Gold Coins struck in late Saxon times. xix. 62.

GARDNER, PERCY, ESQ., M.A.:—
On some Coins with the Inscription "TPIH." xi. 162.
On an Unpublished Coin of Artavasdes II., King of Armenia. xii. 9.
On some interesting Greek Coins: Athens, Achaia, Sicyon, Susiana. xiii. 177.
On a Coin of Heraüs, Saka King. xiv. 161.
Thasian Manubria. xiv. 168.
Plautiana: a Rectification. xv. 34.
Sicilian Studies. xvi. 1.
The Date of King Mostis, and of certain later coins of Thasos. xvi. 299.
A Monetary League on the Euxine Sea. xvi. 307.
Macedonian and Greek Coins of the Seleucidæ. xviii. 90.
Numismatic Re-attributions: Phanes, Lamia, Electryona. xviii. 261.
New Coins from Bactria. xix. 1.
The Coins of Elis. xix. 221.
Coins from Kashgar. xix. 274.
Ares as a Sun God; and Solar Symbols on the Coins of Macedon and Thrace. xx. 49.
On some Coins of Syria and Bactria. xx. 181.
Further Note on the Coins of Lamia. xx. 268.
GHICA, DEMETRIUS J., ESQ.:—
Michel V., surnamed "The Brave," Prince of Wallachia. xvi. 161.
GILL, H. S., ESQ.:—
Seventeenth-Century Devonshire Tokens, not described in *Boyne*. xvi. 247.
Seventeenth-Century Somersetshire Tokens, not described in *Boyne*. xix. 99.
Note on a Hoard of Edward the Confessor's Pennies found at Sedlescombe, near Battle. xix. 154.
Unpublished Yorkshire Tokens of the Seventeenth Century. xx. 234.
GREENWELL, REV. CANON WILLIAM, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.:—
On some Rare Greek Coins. xx. 1.
GRUEBER, HERBERT A., ESQ.:—
Account of a Hoard of Coins found at Ephesus. xii. 120.

HEAD, BARCLAY V., ESQ.:—
On some Rare Greek Coins recently acquired by the British Museum. xi. 166.

The Greek Coins of the Wigan Collection, now in the British Museum. xiii. 89, 309.
On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse. xiv. 1.
Metrological Notes on the Ancient Electrum Coins struck between the Lelantian Wars and the Accession of Darius. xv. 245.
On a Recent Find of Staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus. xvi. 277.
Additional Notes on the same find. xvii. 169.
Note on Magistrates' Names on Autonomous and Imperial Greek Coins. xvii. 167.
On an Unpublished Archaic Tetradrachm of Olynthus. xviii. 85.
On Himyarite and other Arabian Imitations of Coins of Athens. xviii. 273.
Note on a Find of Sicilian Copper Coins struck about the year B.C. 344. xix. 217.
On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Ephesus. xx. 85.
On a Himyaritic tetradrachm and the Trésor de San'â. xx. 303.

HENFREY, HENRY WM., Esq.:—
On King Charles I.'s Collection of Coins. xiv. 100.
On a Die for a Half-crown of Charles I. xiv. 105.
On Thomas Simon's connection with Guernsey. xiv. 107.
Note on Snelling's 72 Plates of Coins published in 1757. xiv. 159.
Historical Notes relating to the Naval Honorary Medals of the Commonwealth. xv. 81.
The Culloden Medals. xv. 90.
Supplementary Note on the Naval Medals of the Commonwealth. xvi. 158.
Note on a Penny of Stephen, coined at Castle Rising. xix. 219.
Penny of Canute the Great: a Rectification. xix. 220.
Note on Irish Coins minted at Bristol. xx. 74.
Unpublished Annulet Groat of Henry V. or VI. xx. 75.
Further Notes upon the Penny of Canute the Great. xx. 231.

HERBST, Professor C. F.:—
Some Further Notes upon "Penny of Canute the Great: a Rectification." xx. 226.

HOARE, Captain EDWARD:—
The Copper Coinage of 1672-3. xiv. 113.
On some Early and Modern Tokens bearing the names of Hoare, &c. xx. 332.

HOBLYN, RICHARD A., Esq.:—
Rare English Coins of the Milled Series. xvii. 73.
Milled Silver Coins with the Elephant, and Elephant-and-Castle. xvii. 347.
Milled Silver Coins with the Plumes. xvii. 353.
English Tin Coins. xvii. 358.
Note on Tin Coins of William and Mary. xviii. 304.
Milled Scottish Coins. xix. 108.
The Edinburgh Coinage of Queen Anne. xix. 138.

HOGG, M. A., Miss:—
Notice of Coins found at Baconsthorpe, Norfolk. xx. 75.

HOWORTH, H. H., Esq., F.S.A.:—
Note on the Geography of Kashgar. xix. 279.

IMHOOF-BLUMER, Dr. F.:—
L'Inscription TPIH sur des Monnaies Grecques antiques. xiii. 1.

JONES, THOMAS, Esq.:—
Unpublished Roman Imperial Coins. xi. 182.

KAY, HENRY C., Esq.:—
A Gold Coin of Abû Ishâk Ibn Mahmûd Shâh Inchû. xv. 216.

KEARY, CHARLES FRANCIS, Esq., M.A.:—
On the Coins of Ethelred, King of Northumbria. xiv. 94.
Note on the Ashantee and Best-Shot Medals. xv. 167.
Art on the Coins of Offa. xv. 206.

Notes on Finds of Coins. xvii. 163.
Discovery of Coins of William I. and II. at Tamworth. xvii. 340.
The Coinages of Western Europe, from the Fall of the Western Empire till the Accession of Charlemagne. xviii. 49, 132, 216; xix. 23.
Note on the Bisham Treasure-Trove. xviii. 304.
Italian Medals of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. xix. 196.
KENYON, R. L., Esq., M.A. :—
The Short Cross Question. xv. 144.
KOEHNE, Baron B. de :—
On Drachms of Aristarchos, Dynast of Colchis. xvii. 1.

LANG, R. HAMILTON, Esq. :—
On Coins discovered during recent excavations in the Island of Cyprus. xi. 1.
Treasure-Trove in Cyprus of Gold Staters. xi. 229.
LEFROY, General Sir J. H., F.R.S. :—
The Hog-Money of the Somers Islands. xvi. 153.
On a new piece of Bermuda Hog-Money, of the value of Twopence. xviii. 166.
LEWIS, Rev. S. S., M.A., F.S.A. :—
Shekel of the Year Five. xvi. 322.
Note on Roman Coins found at Knapwell. xvii. 167.
LONGSTAFFE, W. HYLTON DYER, Esq., F.S.A. :—
Did the Kings between Edward III. and Henry VI. coin money at York on their own account? xi. 193.

MADDEN, FREDERIC W., Esq., M.R.A.S. :—
Jewish Coins. xii. 1.
Jewish Numismatics. xiv. 281; xv. 41, 101, 169, 298; xvi. 45, 81, 177.
Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine I. and his Successors. xvii. 11, 242; xviii. 1, 169.
Rare or Unpublished Jewish Coins. xix. 13.

NECK, J. FRED., Esq. :—
The Silver Coinage of Henry IV., V., and VI. xi. 93.
Unpublished Varieties of English Silver Coins issued in the reign of Richard II. xii. 223.
On the Tower Silver Coins of Charles I. xvi. 133.
NELIGAN, Rev. W. C., D.D. :—
On a Curious Copy of Folkes's Coins. xv. 92.
NEWTON, C. T., Esq., M.A. :—
On an Inedited Tetradrachm of Orophernes II., King of Cappadocia. xi. 19

PONTON D'AMÉCOURT, Le Vicomte de :—
Further Notes on the Gold Coins discovered in 1828 at Crondal, Hants. xii. 72.
POOLE, STANLEY E. LANE, Esq. :—
Arabic Glass Coins. xii. 199.
On Mint Characteristics of Arabic Coins. xiii. 54.
On the Coins of the Muwahhids in the British Museum. xiii. 147.
On the Coins of the Urtukis. xiii. 254, 342.
A Russian Numismatic Glossary. xiv. 339.
Unpublished Coins of the Kakweyhis. xv. 231.
The Oriental Cabinet at Copenhagen. xvi. 267.
Unpublished Arabic Coins from the Collection of the Rev. T. Calvert. xix. 74.
Note on Finds near Khorremmabâd and at Shushter. xix. 153.
A Scheme of the Mohammadan Dynasties during the Khalifate. xx. 262.
POWNALL, Rev. Canon ASSHETON, M.A., F.S.A. :—
Account of a Find of Roman Coins at Lutterworth; with

some Remarks on the Present Practice of the Treasury with regard to Treasure-Trove. xi. 169.
Offa, King of Mercia. xv. 196.
Note on a Find of Coins at Bulwick. xix. 219.
Coins of the Stafford Mint. xx. 66.

REICHARDT, Rev. HENRY C.:—
Note on the Legend קרן. xii. 221.
Remarks on the "Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte" of M. de Saulcy. xvi. 315.
Supplementary Note to the same. xvii. 166.
ROBERTSON, J. D., Esq.:—
Note on a Gold Siege Piece of Charles II. xvii. 168.
ROGERS, E. T., Esq.:—
Early Dirhem of the Ommeyade Dynasty. xi. 256.
A Dinar of Bedr, son of Husnawiyeh. xi. 258.
Glass as a material for Standard Coin Weights. xiii. 60.
Note on some Inedited Coins of the Dynasty of the Khalifahs of Bani-Umeya. xiv. 349.

SAULCY, Monsieur F. de, Membre de l'Institut:—
Sur les Monnaies des Antiochéens frappées hors d'Antioche. xi. 69.
Monnaies des Zamarides: Dynastes Juifs de Bathyra. xi. 157.
Catalogue Raisonné de Monnaies Judaïques recueillies à Jérusalem en Novembre, 1869. xi. 235.
Renseignements Numismatiques sur l'Expression קרן, "*Cornu*," employé dans l'Ecriture Sainte pour désigner métaphoriquement la Puissance. xii. 65.
SAUVAIRE, Monsieur H.:—
On a Dinar of Salih Ebn Merdas of Aleppo. xiii. 335.
SCHINDLER, Gen. A. HOUTUM:—
The Coinage of the Decline of the Mongols in Persia. xx. 320.
SCHIVE, Herr C. J.:—
Some Account of the Weights of English and Northern Coins in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. (Translated from the Danish by John Evans, Esq.). xi. 42.
SELBORNE, Right Hon. Lord, F.R.S.:—
On a Hoard of Roman Coins found at Blackmoor, Hants. xvii. 90.
SHARP, SAMUEL, Esq., F.S.A.:—
Earthen Coin Moulds, found at Duston, near Northampton. xi. 28.
The Stamford Mint. Supplement (to Article in Vol. ix. N.S.). xx. 205.
SIM, GEORGE, Esq., F.S.A., Scot.:—
Note on Recent Finds of Coins in Scotland. xvi. 76.
The Glenquaich Treasure-Trove. xvii. 80.
Recent Finds of Coins in Scotland. xvii. 308.
SIX, Monsieur J. P.:—
Note on the Wigan Greek Coins. xiii. 329.
Lycceios, Dynaste des Péoniens. xv. 20.
Sur les Premières Monnaies de bronze émises à Syracuse. xv. 26.
Les deux Dicæa. xv. 97.
Monnaies des Satrapes de Carie. xvii. 81.
Observations sur les Monnaies Phéniciennes. xvii. 177.
Monnaies d'Hierapolis en Syrie. xviii. 103.
SMITH, AQUILLA, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.:—
Irish Silver Coins of Henry VIII. xix. 157.
Notes on the Irish Coins of James I. xix. 185.
SMITH, C. ROACH, Esq., F.S.A.:—
Note on Finds of Roman Coins. xiv. 352.
Discovery of Altars, Coins, etc., near the Site of Procolitia. xix. 85.

THOMAS, EDWARD, Esq., F.R.S. :—
Early Armenian Coins. xi. 202.
Sassanian Coins. xii. 33, 105, 271; xiii. 220.
The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts. xx. 18.

VAUX, W. S. W., Esq., M.A., F.R.S. :—
On an Unique Coin of Platon, King of Bactriana. xv. 1.
Supplementary Note on the Coin of Platon. xvi. 80.
Indenture preserved in the Bodleian Library relating to certain Farthings of James I. xvi. 235.

WEBB, HENRY, Esq. :—
Remarks on the Early Silver Coins of Charles II. xix. 92.
WEBSTER, WILLIAM, Esq. :—
List of Unedited Greek Coins—Copper. xiii. 19.
WHITE, JAMES, Esq., F.G.S. :—
The Iron Money of the Japanese. xx. 174.
WILLETT, ERNEST H., Esq., F.S.A. :—
On a Hoard of Saxon Pennies found in the City of London in 1872. xvi. 323.
On some Recent Additions to the Ancient British Coinage of the South-eastern District. xvii. 309.

# INDEX II.


A and ω on coins, xviii. 31 *et seqq.*
Abbasside coins, xv. 336.
Abdera, coins of, xiii. 103; xx. 3.
Abd-Hadad, coins of, xviii. 103.
Abgarus, coin of, xviii. 197, 215.
Abû Ishâk Ibn Mahmûd Shâh Inchû, coins of, xv. 216 *et seqq.*
Abu-l-Barakāt, xix. 78.
Ab-Yatha, coin of, xx. 303.
Abydos, coins of, xiii. 28; xv. 265 *et seqq.*
Acanthus, coins of, xiii. 104, 331.
Acarnania, coin of, xviii. 100.
Ace, coins of, xvii. 215.
Achæan League, the, xix. 265.
Achæan League, coins of the, xiii. 111.
Achaia, coins of, xiii. 181.
Acrasia, coin of, xv. 36.
Adana, coin of, xiii. 31.
Adranum, coin of, xiv. 35.
Adranum, supposed coins of, xix. 217.
Ægæ, coins of, xiii. 32; xv. 292.
Ægina, coins of, xv. 270.
Æginetic Standard, the, xv. 252, 269.
Ælia Capitolina, xvi. 56.
Ælia Flaccilla, coins of, xviii. 41.
Ælia Placidia, coins of, xviii. 43.
Ælius Cæsar, coin of, xi. 188.
Æthelred II., gold coin of, xix. 62.
Æthelred II., penny of, xx. 72, 212, 229.
Æthelstan, coins of, xx. 72.
Aetna, coins of, xvi. 13, 15.
Ætolia, coins of, xviii. 97.
Æzani, coin of, xiii. 320.
Agathocles, coins of, xiii. 324; xiv. 40; xx. 181, 183.
Agrigentum, coins of, xvi. 15, 17.
Agrippa I., coins of, xi. 255; xii. 6; xv. 58; xix. 20.
Agrippa II., coins of, xv. 78, 101; xix. 20.
Agyrium, coin of, xiv. 35.
Aigiale, coins of, xiii. 125.
'Alā-ed-dawleh Mohammad, coins of, xv. 238.
Alæsa, supposed coins of, xix. 218.
Alawi dynasty, coin of the, xix. 77.
Albany, John, Duke of, medal of, xiii. 47; xvii. 61.
Alexander, the Phœnician form of, xviii. 103, 129.
Alexander the Great, as son of Philip, xx. 187.
Alexander II., of Judæa, coins of, xii. 2; xiv. 311.
Alexander II., of Scotland, coins of, xii. 23, 236.
Alexander III., the Great, coins of, xi. 229; xiii. 106; coins struck at Elis, xix. 256; coins struck at Ephesus, xx. 139.
Alexander III., of Scotland, coins of, xi. 285; xii. 23, 236; xiv. 352; xv. 162.
Alexander Jannæus, coins of, xi. 238; xii. 2; xiv. 306—308.
Alexander, St., on coins, xviii. 189.
Alexander Severus, coins of, xi. 192; xviii. 119.
Alexandra, supposed Jewish coin of, xiv. 308.
Alexandria Troas, coin of, xiii. 123.
Alexius I., coins of, xviii. 207, 212.
Alexius II., coins of, xviii. 214.
Allectus, coins of, xiv. 91; xvii. 155.
Alyattes (?), coins of, xv. 284.
Amasia, coin of, xiii. 24.
Amasis, king of Egypt, conquers Cyprus, xi. 3.
Amawī coins, xvi. 267.
Amisus, coin of, xiii. 24.
Amorgos, coins of, xiii. 125.
Amorion Phrygiæ, coin of, xiii. 320.
Amphaxitis, coins of, xx. 55.
Amphipolis, coins of, xiii. 104; xx. 6.
Amyntas Nicator, coins of, xii. 161, 171.

Analyses of bronze coins, xv. 32.
Analysis of Ancient British coins, xvii. 313.
ANACTACIC, the legend, xviii. 192.
Anastasius I., coins of, xviii. 153, 159, 169.
Anazarbus, coins of, xiii. 32.
Anchialus, coin of, xiii. 21.
Ancyra, coins of, xiii. 39, 320.
Andernach, coin struck at, xii. 77.
Andragoras, coin of, xix. 1.
Andronicus, St., on coins, xviii. 190.
Angels used as touch-pieces, xii. 190.
Anglo-Saxon coins, xii. 72 *et seqq*; xx. 72, 211 ; xx. 192 *et seqq*.
Anglo-Saxon coins found in London, xvi. 323.
Anglo-Saxon gold coins, xii. 78; xix. 62.
Anglo-Saxon coins, unpublished varieties of, xvi. 150.
Anglo-Saxon coins, weights of, xi. 43, 46.
Anlaf, penny of, xvi. 150.
Anne, coins of, xvii. 355.
Anne, medals of, xviii. 295.
Anne, Scottish coins of, xiv. 336; xix. 133.
Anne, the Edinburgh coinage of, xix. 138.
Annulet coinage of Henry V., xi. 126.
Annulet-money of Henry VI., xi. 133.
Antigonus, coins of, xi. 243; xii. 4; xiv. 314.
Antigonus Doson, coin of, xiii. 310, 332.
Antimachus I., coin of, xiii. 324; xx. 183.
Antimachus II., drachma of, xix. 275.
Antioch, tetradrachm of, xvi. 189.
Antiochia Cariæ, coins of, xiii. 29, 312.
Antiochia Pisidiæ, coin of, xiii. 31.
Antiochians, coins of the, not struck in Antioch, xi. 69.
Antiochus I., coins of, xix. 10; xviii. 92; xx. 190.
Antiochus II., coins of, xix. 11.
Antiochus III., coin of, xiii. 322.
Antiochus VIII. and Cleopatra, coins of, xi. 87.
Antoninus Pius, coins of, xi. 184, 888; xiii. 130; xiv. 85.
Apamea Bithyniæ, coin of, xiii. 25.
Apamea Phrygiæ, coin of, xiii. 38.
Aphrodisias, coin of, xiii. 29.
Apollo, worship of, xvi. 278.
Apollonia Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 29.
Apollonia Illyrici, coin of, xiii. 106; xx. 272.
Apollonia Mordiæon, coins of, xiii. 315.
Apollonia Mysiæ, coin of, xiii. 27.
Apollonia Salbake, coin of, xiii. 312.
Apollonia Thraciæ, coins of, xiii. 12, 27.
Apollophanes, coin of, xii. 167, 177.
Aquinum Latii, coin of, xiii. 94.
Arabic coins, xix. 74.
Arabic glass coins, xii. 199.
Arabic coins, mint characteristics of, xiii. 54.
Arabic coins struck at Jerusalem, xvi. 68.
Aradus, coins of, xii. 67; xvii. 182; xx. 163.
Arcadius, coins of, xviii. 46.
Arcesine, coins of, xiii. 125.
ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ, the legend, xiv. 38.
Archelaus, xii. 6.
Ardeshír Barbak, xii. 48.
Ardeshír II., coins of, xii. 266.
Ardeshír III., coin of, xiii. 251.
Ares, as a Sun God, xx. 49.
Argos, coins of, xiii. 113.
Argyll, John, Duke of, medals of, xx. 255.
Aripert, coin of, xviii. 254.
Aristarchos of Colchis, coins of, xvii. 1.
Aristotimus the Tyrant, xix. 259.
Armenian coins, xi. 202; xii. 9.
Arsaces, coin of, xi. 218.
Arsinoë, as the name of Ephesus, xx. 127.
Arsinoë II., coin of, xiii. 325.
Art on Greek coins, xv. 89.
Art on Sicilian coins, xvi. 17.
Art on the coins of Offa, xv. 206.
Artabanus V., coins of, xi. 226.
Artavasdes, coins of, xi. 226.
Artavasdes I., coin of, xiii. 322.
Artavasdes II., coin of, xii. 9.
Artaxias I., coin of, xiii. 321.
Artemidorus, coins of, xii. 166, 176.
Artemis, a coin offered to, xiii. 183.
Artemis, or Diana, of Ephesus, xx. 90.

Asea, coin of, xiii. 111.
Ashantee War Medal, the, xv. 167.
Asiatic Society, Journal of, noticed, xv. 336.
Asiatic Standard, the, xv. 249, 252, 259.
Asmonæans, coins of the, xi. 236.
Aspendus, coins of, xiii. 29; xx. 48.
Astaulf, coins of, xviii. 254.
Atabeg prince, coins of an, xix. 81.
Atergatis, the Goddess, xviii. 103.
Athalaric, coins of, xviii. 154.
Athens, coins of, xi. 4, 17; xiii. 110, 177.
Athens, imitations of coins of, xviii. 273; xx. 191, 307.
Athol, John, Duke of, medal of, xx. 257.
Attaleia, coin of, xiii. 318.
Augusta, coin of, xiii. 33.
Augustus, coins of, xi. 183, 187; xx. 317.
Augustus, head of, on Himyarite coins, xviii. 282.
Augustus, Jewish coins of, xv. 179.
Aulari, coin of, xiii. 122.
Aurelianus, coins of, xvii. 131.
Aurelianus, medallion of, xi. 186.
Aurelius, M., coins of, xi. 185, 189.
Aurunca, coin of, xi. 166.
Azbaal, coin of, xi. 5.
Azotus, coin of, xviii. 125.

Baal-Melek, coin of, xi. 5.
Babylonic Standard, the, xv. 250, 253, 256.
Baconsthorpe, coins found at, xx. 75.
Bactrian coins, xii. 157; xiii. 187, 324; xiv. 161; xv. 1; xviii. 302, xix. 1; xx. 181.
Baduila, coins of, xviii. 159.
Bagis Lydiæ, coin of, xiii. 318.
Bagno, Cesare da, the medallist, xix. 206.
Bahrám Chobín, coin of, xiii. 236.
Ballæos, coins of, xx. 292.
Bambyce, coins of, xviii. 103.
Bani-Umeya, coins of the Khalifahs of, xiv. 349.
Barbarian imitations of Roman coins, xviii. 49, 132.
Bar-cochab, coins of, xi. 250; xv. 321; xix. 15.
Barke, coins of, xiii. 326.
Bartholomew, St., medal on the massacre of, xii. 216.
Basil I., coins of, xviii. 204.
Bathyra, Jewish dynasts of, xi. 157.
Beaufort family, the, xviii. 287.
Bedr, son of Husnawiyeh, dinar of, xi. 258.
Bee, the, as a symbol on Ephesian coins, xx. 92 *et seqq.*
Bejkem, coin of, xvi. 270.
Bekah, the, xvi. 88.
Belli, the engraver, xix. 210.
Beneventum, Dukes of, xviii. 255.
Berenice II., coin of, struck at Ephesus, xx. 134.
Berlin Coin Cabinet, the Handbook to the, noticed, xvii. 367.
Berliner Blätter, noticed, xi. 289; xii. 213; xiii. 303.
Bermuda "Hog-money," xvi. 153; xviii. 166.
Berwick halfpenny, xi. 281.
Best-shot medal, the, xv. 167.
Bithynia, coins of, xiii. 25.
Blacas, Duc de, his Translation of Mommsen, noticed, xiv. 157.
Blachernæ, the Virgin of, xviii. 207.
Blau, Dr. Otto, his "Orientalische Münzen des Museums zu Odessa," noticed, xvi. 395.
Bompois, H. F., his "Monnaies des Macédoniens," noticed, xvii. 77.
Bompois, H. F., his papers on the coins of Heraclea and Maronea, noticed, xviii. 303.
Bosporus, coin of, xiii. 121.
Bostra, coin of, xiii. 40.
Bottiæan Numismatics, xiv. 177, 219; xx. 55.
Βοῦς, as applied to coins, xiii. 178.
Brass money, xvi. 98.
Brighton College, Mr. Madden's Guide to the coins in, noticed, xviii. 303.
Briot, Nicholas, the engraver, xiv. 245, 320; xviii. 77, 292; xix. 115.
Bristol, Irish coins minted at, xx. 74.
Bristol mint, the, xv. 337.
Britain, Roman coins relating to, xiv. 81.
British coins of the south-eastern district, xvii. 309.
British coins, xi. 155.
British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek coins in the, noticed, xiii. 173; xvi. 276; xvii. 365.

British Museum, Catalogue of the Oriental coins in the, noticed, xv. 244; xvii. 78.
British Museum, Catalogue of the Roman medallions in the, noticed, xiv. 270.
British Museum, exhibition cases for coins at, xii. 217.
British Museum, Greek coins recently acquired by, xi. 166.
British Museum, Guide to the Electrotypes of select Greek coins exhibited in the, noticed, xii. 62.
British Museum, the new Guide to the Electrotypes of Greek and Roman coins in the, noticed, xx. 180.
Bronze coins, analyses of, xv. 32.
Brooke, Rajahs Sir James and Sir Charles, coins of, xx. 336.
Bruce, Rev. Dr. Collingwood, his "Story of the Thorngrafton Find," noticed, xii. 63.
Burgundian coins, xviii. 67.
Burton, Capt. Richard, coins discovered by him in Midian, xviii. 283.
Buweyhī coins, xvi. 268.
Byblus, coins of, xvii. 179.
Byzantine gold coin, barbarous copy of a, xix. 276.
Byzantine weights, xiii. 81.
Byzantium, coins of, xiii. 21.

Cæsarea, coins of, xiii. 39.
Caius Cæsar, coin of, xi. 183.
Calais mint, the, xi. 98, 198.
CALLEV, the inscription, xvii. 316.
Callirhoë, Antiochian coins of, xi. 70, 88.
Calvert, Rev. T., unpublished Arabic coins in the collection of, xix. 74.
Camarina, coins of, xvi. 6.
Campbell, Capt. Alexander, medal of, xx. 254.
Canterbury, gold *triens* struck at, xii. 78.
Canute, or Cnut, coins of, xvi. 151, 338; xix. 220; xx. 72, 213, 226.
Cappadocia, coin of, xi. 19.
Caracalla, coins of, xiv. 86; xv. 38; xviii. 120; xix. 273.
Caradosso, the engraver, xix. 206.
Carallia, coin of, xiii. 31.
Carausius, coins of, xiv. 87; xvii. 139.
Carausius, silver money of, xix. 44.
Caria, coins of the Satraps of, xvii. 81.
Carinus, coins of, xvii. 137.
Carne, coin of, xii. 67, 221.
Carthæa, coins of, xiii. 119, 330.
Carthage, coins of, xviii. 142.
Carus, coins of, xvii. 137.
Carystus, coins of, xiii. 119; xviii. 97.
Cassope, coin of, xiii. 108.
Castle Rising, penny of Stephen minted at, xix. 219.
Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum, noticed, xiii. 173; xvi. 276; xvii. 365.
Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum, noticed, xv. 244; xvii. 78.
Catalogue of the Roman Medallions in the British Museum, noticed, xiv. 270.
Catana, coins of, xiii. 102; xvi. 9.
Cavino, the engraver, xix. 212.
Caystriani Lydiæ, coin of, xiii. 319.
Cebrenia, coins of, xv. 267 *et seqq.*
Celenderis, coin of, xiii. 33.
Cellini, Benvenuto, xix. 211.
Centuripæ, coin of, xiv. 36.
Ceramos Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 313.
Cesati, the engraver, xix. 208.
Chalcis, coins of, xv. 274; xviii. 99 *et seqq.*
Characene, coin of, xiii. 185.
Charibert II., coins of, xviii. 242.
Charlemagne, coins of, xix. 58.
Charles I., die for half-crown of, xiv. 105.
Charles I., coins of, xvii. 166.
Charles I., penny of, xvi. 152.
Charles I., the Tower silver coins of, xvi. 133.
Charles I., his collection of coins, xiv. 100.
Charles I., Scottish coins of, xiv. 240; xv. 165; xix. 115.
Charles I., Scottish medals of, xviii. 291.
Charles I., his mint accounts in Scotland, xix. 70.
Charles II., coins of, xvii. 74, 348, 355, 358.
Charles II., copper coinage of, xiv. 113.

Charles II., gold siege-piece of, xvii. 168.
Charles II., the early silver coins of, xix. 92.
Charles II., Scottish coins of, xiv. 317; xix. 119.
Charles II., Scottish medal of, xviii. 294.
Charles II., his mint accounts in Scotland, xix. 71.
Charles II., of Naples, coins of, xii. 122.
Childebert, coin of, xviii. 237.
Childebert II., coins of, xviii. 238.
Childeric, coins of, xviii. 243.
Chimæra legend, the, xv. 285.
Chios, coins of, xiii. 28; xv. 264.
Chios, mediæval coins of, xii. 152.
Chramnus, coin of, xviii. 237.
Christ, bust of, on coins, xviii. 177, 206.
Christian emblems on the coins of Constantine I. and his successors, xvii. 11, 242; xviii. 1, 169.
Chronological sequence of the coins of Syracuse, xiv. 1.
Church, Professor, his analysis of British coins, xvii. 313.
Cimolus, coin of, xiii. 120.
Cistophori, of Ephesus, xx. 146, 156.
Citium, coins of, xi. 5.
Cius, coin of, xiii. 25.
Clarke, A. O., letter on coins found at Priene, xi. 25.
Claudius Gothicus, coins of, xi. 173; xvii. 124.
Claudius, Jewish coins of, xv. 190.
Clazomenæ, coins of, xv. 264 *et seqq.*
Clazomenæ Ioniæ, coin of, xiii. 311.
Cleomenes III., coins of, xiii. 112, 310–312.
Clotaire, coins of, xviii. 239.
Clovis II., coins of, xviii. 242.
Cnossus, Crete, coins of, xx. 47.
Cnut, coin of, xx. 72.
Cnut, the Saint, king of Denmark, xx. 227.
Cochran-Patrick, R. W., his "Records of the Coinage of Scotland," noticed, xvi. 395.
Coin moulds, Roman, xi. 28.
Coining irons, ancient, xii. 228.
Colchis, coins of, xvii. 1.
Colossæ Phrygiæ, coin of, xiii. 321.
Colybrassus, coin of, xiii. 33.
COM. FILI., the inscription, xvii. 315.
Commodus, coins of, xi. 185, 191; xiv. 85.
Commodus, medallion of, xvii. 338.
Commodus and Abgar, coin of, xviii. 197, 215.
Commonwealth, naval honorary medals of the, xv. 81; xvi. 158.
Conder, Mr. F. R., his papers on Jewish coins, noticed, xiv. 292.
Constans, coins of, xvii. 279, 283; xviii. 24 *et seqq.*
Constantine I., coins of, xvii. 11, 242; xviii. 1, 199.
Constantine II., coins of, xvii. 49, 54, 258, 261, 272, 281; xviii. 12, 14, 21, 23, 25.
Constantine V., coins of, xviii. 202.
Constantine X., coins of, xviii. 204.
Constantine XII., coins of, xviii. 213.
Constantine, St., on coins, xviii. 189.
Constantinopolis, coins of, xvii. 269.
Constantius Chlorus, coin-moulds of, xi. 36; coin of, xvii. 139.
Constantius Gallus, coins of, xviii. 37.
Constantius II., coins of, xvii. 262, 279, 283; xviii. 12, 24 *et seqq.*
Copenhagen Cabinet, the, xvi. 217.
Copper coinage of 1672-3, xiv. 113.
Corcyra, coins of, xv. 273.
Corinth, coins of, xiii. 23.
Corinth, coins of, reading TPIH, xiii. 5.
Cornilliano, Pietro, coins of, xii. 138.
*Cornu*, קרן, and CORNV-PHENICES, numismatic notes on the legends, xii. 65, 221.
Cos, coins of, xv. 267 *et seqq.*
Coventina, the goddess, xix. 89.
Craig, James, medal of, xx. 257.
Crispus, coins of, xvii. 49, 53, 258; xviii. 11.
Crœsus at Ephesus, xx. 97.
Crœsus, coinage of, xv. 256 *et seqq.*
Cromna, coin of, xiii. 122.
Cromwell, inquiry concerning his coins and medals, xi. 156.
Crosses on coins of Constantine, &c., xvii. 290; xviii. 1, 169.
Croton, coins of, xiii. 97; xv. 26.
Cucurbita, the, xiii. 128.

Cuerdale find, uncertain coins in the, xx. 192.
Culloden medals, xv. 90; xix. 142.
Cumberland, Duke of, medals of, xix. 142.
Cunipert, coins of, xviii. 253.
CVNNETTI, the legend, on coins, xx. 200.
Cydonia, coin of, xiii. 116.
Cyme, coins of, xv. 264, 274.
Cypriote legends, coins with, xi. 2, 11.
Cyprus, coins of, xiii. 317; xv. 334.
Cyprus, coins discovered in, xi. 1, 229.
Cyrene, coins of, xiii. 326; xiv. 267; xv. 274; xx. 13.
Cyzicus, coins of, xiii. 27; xv. 266.
Cyzicus, staters of, xvi. 277; xvii. 169; xx. 9.

Dædalus of Sicyon, xix. 242.
Dagobert I. and II., coins of, xviii. 240, 244.
Daldis Lydiæ, coin of, xiii. 319.
Damascus, coins struck at, xiii. 55.
ΔΑΜΩΚΥΡΑΣ, legend on a coin of Cyrene, xiv. 267.
Dandolo, Francis, Doge of Venice, coin of, xii. 155.
Danish coins, weights of, xi. 44, 58.
Dannenberg, Herr Herman, his "Deutsche Münzen der Sachsischen und Fränkischen Kaizerzeit," noticed, xvi. 272.
ΔΑΦΝΗΙ, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ, coins with the legend, xi. 70, 79.
Dardanus, coins of, xiii. 124; xv. 292 *et seqq.*
Darics in Judæa, xvi. 116.
David II. of Scotland, coins of, xi. 287; xii. 84, 238.
Decennial vows, the, xiii. 130.
Decentius, coins of, xviii. 37.
Defacing coins, xiii. 185.
Delhi, the coins of the Pathân kings of, xi. 67.
Delium (?), coin of, xiii. 109, 330.
Delmatius, coins of, xvii. 282, 283.
Delphi, coin of, xiii. 108.
Demetrius I., coin of, xiii. 323.
Demetrius, St., on coins, xviii. 190.
Denarius, the, in the New Testament, xvi. 189.
Denominational marks on Greek coins, xiii. 9.
"Descente en Angleterre," on medals of Napoleon, xii. 266.
Desiderius, coins of, xviii. 255.
"Deutsche Münzen der Sachsischen und Fränkischen Kaizerzeit," noticed, xvi. 272.
Devonshire tokens, xvi. 247.
Diadem, the, xviii. 1.
Dicæa, coins of, xiv. 204, 273; xv. 97.
Didrachmon, the, xvi. 178.
Digamma, the, on coins of Elis, xix. 233.
ΔΙΟ, ΔΙΩ, the legend, xiii. 7.
Dio-Cæsarea, coin of, xiii. 34.
Diocletian, coin-moulds of, xi. 36.
Diocletian, coins of, xvii. 138.
Diocletian period, marks on the coins of the, xv. 335.
Diodotos II., coin of, xiii. 324.
Dionysios and his successors, coins of, xiv. 20.
Domitia, coin of, xi. 187.
Domitian, coin of, xi. 187.
Domitian, Jewish coins of, xvi. 50.
Douglas, Lady Margaret, presumed medal of, xviii. 74.
Drachm in Judæa, xvi. 126.
DRUMMOND, George, Provost of Edinburgh, medal of, xx. 256.
Drusus, coin of, xx. 313.
Dunfermline, Earl of, medal of the, xviii. 79.
Duston, coin-moulds found at, xi. 28.
Dyrrhachium, coin of, xiii. 107; xx. 272.

Eadgar, coins of, xvi. 151; xx. 211.
Eadred, penny of, xv. 150.
Eadward (the Martyr), coins of, xx. 211.
Eagle on coins, xix. 229.
Eanred, of Northumbria, coins of, xx. 62.
EBRAICE CIVITAS, the legend on coins, xx. 199.
Ecgbeorht, penny of, xvi. 150.
Ecgberht, king of Kent, pennies of, xix. 60.
Edinburgh Mint, xix. 66, 138.
Edward the Confessor, coins of, xvi. 329; xix. 154; xx. 72, 215.
Edward the Confessor, gold coin of, xix. 63.
Edward I. and II., pennies of, xiv. 351.

Edward I., II., and III., coins of, xi. 264.
Edward IV., groat of, xvi. 152.
Edward VI., coins of, xii. 188, 193; xvii. 164; xviii. 305; xx. 74.
"Egypte Ancienne," M. Feuardent's work on, noticed, xiii. 303.
Eleazar the High Priest, coins of, xv. 313.
Electrum coins, the metrology of, xv. 245.
Electrum, the metal, xv. 254.
Electryona, coin of, xviii. 271.
Elephant on English coins, xvii. 347.
Eleusis, coin of, xiii. 110.
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, the legend, xvi. 292.
Eleutheropolis, coin of, xiii. 40.
El-Hasan ibn Ahmad, coin of, xix. 75.
Elis, coins of, xiii. 111; xix. 221; xx. 9; their chronology, xix. 224.
Elizabeth, coins of, xii. 190; xvii. 164.
Elliot, the hero of Gibraltar, medals of, xx. 259.
El-Mohammadiyeh, coin of, xix. 77.
Elpaal, king of Byblus, xvii. 180.
El-Wāthik Dhu-l-Karneyn, coins of, xix. 81.
English coins, unpublished, xvi. 150.
English coins, weights of, xi. 43, 46.
English gold coins, hoard of, xii. 186.
English gold coins found at Bisham Abbey, xviii. 304.
English gold and silver coins found at Houghton, xvii. 163.
English silver coinage, the rise of the, xix. 23.
Entella, coin of, xvi. 13.
Ephesus, coins of, xiii. 28; xv. 264 *et seqq.*
Ephesus, gold stater of, xv. 334.
Ephesus, history and chronology of the coins of, xx. 85.
Ephesus, hoard of coins found at, xii. 120.
Ephesus, Seljuk coins struck at, xii. 150.
Epigraphy, Sicilian, xvi. 35.
Eponymous Magistrates of Ephesus, the, xx. 165 *et seqq.*
Eppillus, coins of, xvii. 329.
Erchomenos or Orchomenos, coin of, xiii. 110, 331.
Eresus, coins of, xv. 269.
Eretria, coins of, xiv. 276.
Erskine, Sir Charles, medal of, xviii. 79.
Erythræ, coins of, xv. 292.
Erythræ, Ioniæ, coin of, xiii. 312.
Eryx, coins of, xiv. 36; xx. 2.
Etenna Pamphyliæ, coin of, xiii. 330.
Ethelberht, of East Anglia, the unique penny of, xix. 45.
Ethelred, King of Northumbria, coins of, xiv. 94; xx. 62.
Etruria, coin of, xiii. 93.
Euboea, wife of Antiochus III., portrait of, xviii. 99.
Euboea, coins of, xiii. 119; xviii. 97.
Euboic standard, the, xv. 253, 270; xviii. 86.
Eudoxia, coins of, xviii. 44, 45, 46.
Eugenius, St., on coins, xviii. 190, 214.
Eukradites, coins of, xiii. 325; xx. 182.
Eumenea Phrygiæ, coin of, xiii. 320.
Euthydemos, coin of, xiii. 324.
Euxine, a Monetary League on the, xvi. 307.
Evagoras of Salamis, coin of, xi. 231.
Ezra, shekels of the time of, xvi. 120.

FA or FAΛΕΙΟΝ, the legend, xix. 233.
Fakhr-ed-din Karà-Arslân, coins of, xiii. 284, 380.
Farthing tokens, xvi. 235.
Farthing in Scripture, xvi. 195.
Fatimite Khalîfahs, weights bearing the names of, xiii. 63.
Fausta, coins of, xvii. 267; xviii. 13.
Faustina I., coins of, xi. 184, 189.
Faustina II., coins of, xi. 185, 191.
Ferāmerz ibn Mohammed, coins of, xv. 240.
Feuardent, F., his "Egypte Ancienne," noticed, xiii. 303.

Finds of coins:—
Ayr, xiv. 351.
Baconsthorpe, xx. 75.
Battle, near, xiii. 175.
Bisham, xviii. 304.
Blackmoor, Hants, xvii. 90.
Bognor, near, xvii. 309.
Bokhara, xix. 1.
Bulwick, xix. 219.
Creggan, xvi. 78.
Crondal, Hants, xii. 72.
Cyprus, xi. 1, 229.
Duston, near Northampton, xi. 28.
Ephesus, xii. 120.
Flawborough, xvii. 164.
Forgandenny, xvi. 76.
Georgemas Hill, xvii. 308.
Glenquaich, xvii. 80.
Hawick, xvi. 77.
Highbury, xi. 96.
Houghton, xvii. 163.
Khorremmabâd, xix. 153.
Knapwell, xvii. 167.
Lavenham, xv. 140.
London, City of, xvi. 323.
Lutterworth, xi. 169.
Old Monkland, xvii. 308.
Oxford, xi. 264.
Priene, xi. 19.
Procolitia, xix. 85.
Rannoch, xvi. 78.
Risano, xx. 292.
Rochester, xiv. 352.
Ross, Herefordshire, xi. 155.
St. Alban's, xii. 186.
San'â, xviii. 278; xx. 303.
Sedlescombe, xix. 154.
Selci, xx. 270.
Shillington, Beds, xi. 227.
Shushter, xix. 153.
Sicilian coins, xix. 217.
Smyrna, near, xvi. 277.
Sonipat, India, xii. 158.
Stamford, xi. 97, 178.
Steinish, xvii. 308.
Tamworth, xvii. 340.
Thorngrafton, xii. 63.
Wight, Isle of, xiv. 352.
Finds of Roman coins, tabular view of, xi. 175.
Fíróz, coin of, xii. 285.
Fíróz, the mints of, xiii. 223.
Fíróz Bastán, coin of, xiii. 250.
Fíróz Kobád, coin of, xiii. 250.
Florian, St., coins in the monastery of, xi. 291.
Florianus, coins of, xvii. 133.
Folkes's Plates of English coins, curious copy of, xv. 92.
Fordyce, Dr. George, medal of, xx. 261.
Foreign coins, the value of, in Scotland, xiv. 134, 144.
Francia, the engraver, xix. 204.
Francis and Mary of Scotland, coins of, xii. 239; xiii. 141; xv. 164; xvii. 65.
Frankish coins, xii. 72 *et seqq.*
Friedlaender, Dr. J., his work on the letters "O B," noticed, xiii. 172.
Froehner, W., "Les Médaillons de l'Empire Romain," noticed, xix. 217.
Fulvia Phrygiæ, coin of, xiii. 320.
Fylfot, the, xx. 18.

Gaisberger, J., "Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian," noticed, xi. 291.
Galba, coin of, xi. 187.
Galeotto, the engraver, xix. 209.
Galerius Maximianus, coin-moulds of, xi. 36.
Galley, on Phœnician coins, xvii. 190.
Gallienus, coins of, xi. 171; xvii. 102.
Gallus, coin of, xvii. 101.
Galway, token of, xv. 168.
Gaza, coins of, xvii. 221.
Gela, coins of, xii. 213; xvi. 8.
Gelimir, coins of, xviii. 139.
Gelon, coins of, xiv. 6.
Gelon II. (?), coins of, xiv. 63.
Genoese coins struck in Chios, xii. 152.
Genthios, coins of, xx. 271.
Geomori, Oligarchy of the, coins struck under, xiv. 6.
George I., coins of, xvii. 74, 356.
George II., coins of, xvii. 74, 356.
George III., coins of, xvii. 74.
George IV., coins of, xvii. 74.
George, St., on coins, xviii. 189, 214.
Gerah, the, xvi. 89.
German mediæval coins, Dannenberg's work on, noticed, xvi. 272.
Germe, coins of, xiii. 28.
Geta, coins of, xi. 186; xiv. 86.
Glass, as a material for standard coin weights, xiii. 60.

Glass coins, Arabic, xii. 199.
Gold coins struck in Saxon times, xix. 62.
Gontran, St., coin of (?), xviii. 237.
Gordianus III. Pius, coins of, xi. 186; xvii. 100.
Gordon, Lord George, medal of, xx. 259.
Goresia, coin of, xiii. 119, 330.
Gortyna, coin of, xiii. 116.
Gozon, Deodato de, coins of, xii. 135.
Graffito on a Greek coin, xiii. 183.
Gratian, coins of, xviii. 41.
Greece, weight systems of, xv. 247.
Greek autonomous coins from the Wigan collection, xiii. 89, 309.
Greek coins in the British Museum, the Catalogue of the, noticed, xiii. 173; xvi. 276; xvii. 365.
Greek coins, list of unedited, xiii. 19.
Greek coins, as illustrating History and Art, xv. 88.
Greek coins, paper on, by M. Six, xiii. 329.
Greek letters, forms of, on Sicilian coins, xvi. 38.
Greenwell, Rev. Canon, rare and unpublished coins in his collection, xx. 1.
Grimoald III. and IV., coins of, xviii. 256.
Grueber, Herbert A., his "Catalogue of the Roman Medallions in the British Museum," noticed, xiv. 270.
Guernsey, Thos. Simon's connection with, xiv. 107.
Gunthamund, coins of, xviii. 137.

Hadrian, coin of, xi. 188.
Hadrian, coins of, struck at Elis, xix. 272.
Hadrian and Sabina, Jewish coins of, xvi. 62.
Hadriani, coins of, xiii. 25.
Hadrianotheræ, coin of, xiii. 25.
Halikarnassos Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 25.
Hamdani prince, coin of an, xix. 78.
Hamilton, Isabella, medal of, xviii. 75.
Harold I., coins of, xvi. 151; xx. 72.
Harold II., coins of, xvi. 338.
Harrington, Lord, xvi. 237.
Harthacnut, penny of, xx. 215.
Hawkins's work on English Silver Coins, new edition, xvii. 75.
Head, B. V., the "Prix de Numismatique" awarded to, xv. 338.
Hecatomnos, Satrap of Caria, xvii. 84.
Heiss, Aloïss, his "Description des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne," noticed, xi. 292.
Helena, coins of, xvii. 265.
Heliokles, coin of, xiii. 325.
Helmet, the Macedonian, xx. 55.
Henfrey, H. W., inquiry concerning coins and medals of Oliver Cromwell, xi. 156.
Henfrey, H. W., his account of the Bristol Mint, noticed, xv. 337.
HENRICVS, the short-cross pennies with the legend, xv. 144.
Henry Darnley and Mary Queen of Scots, coins of, xiii. 145; medal of, xvii. 68.
Henry I., coins of, xi. 228; xiii. 175.
Henry II., coins of, xv. 152.
Henry IV., heavy coinage of, xi. 107.
Henry IV., light coinage of, xi. 110.
Henry IV., V., and VI., the silver coinage of, xi. 93, 193.
Henry V., silver coinage of, xi. 117.
Henry V. or VI., unpublished groat of, xx. 75.
Henry VI., heavy coinage of, xi. 133.
Henry VI., light coinage of, xi. 149.
Henry VII., the portcullis groat of, xviii. 285.
Henry VIII., gold coins of, xii. 187, 190; xvii. 163; xviii. 305.
Henry VIII., Irish silver coins of, xix. 157; xx. 74.
Henry VIII., the wives of, xix. 183.
Heraclea, coins of, xix. 26; xviii. 303.
Heraclius, coins of, xviii. 202; xix. 277.
Heræa, coins of, xiii. 114, 311, 330.
Herakleia, coin of, xiii. 108.

Heraüs, Saka king, coin of, xiv. 116.
Hermæus, coins of, xii. 167, 179.
Herod I., of Judæa, coins of, xi. 245; xii. 7; xv. 43.
Herod Agrippa I., coins of, xv. 58.
Herod Agrippa II., coins of, xv. 78, 101.
Herod Antipas, coins of, xi. 253; xv. 47.
Herod Archelaus, coins of, xi. 248; xv. 45.
Herod, King of Chalcis, xv. 80.
Herod Philip I., coins of, xv. 49.
Herod Philip II., coins of, xv. 52.
Herodian family, coins of, xv. 41, 101.
Hierapolis in Syria, coins of, xviii. 103.
Hieron I., coins of, xiv. 9.
Hieron II., coins of, xiv. 60.
Hieronymos, coins of, xiv. 69.
Hiketas, coins of, xiv. 53.
Hilderic, coins of, xviii. 139.
Himera, coins of, xvi. 10.
Himyarite imitations of coins of Athens, xviii. 273.
Himyaritic tetradrachm, xx. 303.
Hippostratus the Great, coins of, xii. 163, 175.
Hissarlik, whorls from, xx. 38.
Hittites, their dominion in Asia Minor, xx. 88.
Hoare, James, of the Mint, *temp.* Charles II., xiv. 113.
Hoare tokens, and with the name of, xx. 332.
Hog-money, xvi. 153; xviii. 166.
Holtzhey, M., medal by, xix. 144.
Honorius, coins of, xviii. 43.
Honorius, Vandalic coins of, xviii. 140.
Hormazd I., coins of, xii. 105.
Hormazd II., coins of, xii. 113.
Hormazd III., coins of, xiii. 225.
Hormazd IV., coins of, xiii. 235.
Hormazd V., coin of, xiii. 251.
Horse-shoes, if used by the Greeks, xx. 15.
Hosam-ed-din, Timurtash, coins of, xiii. 342.
Hosam-ed-din, Yuluk-Arslán, coins of, xiii. 307.
Hull, notes on the issuers of tradesmen's tokens in, xx. 234.
Hume, David, medal of, xx. 257.
Hunter, Dr. John, medals of, xx. 261.
Hunter, Dr. William, medals of, xx. 260.
Hutcheson, Professor, medal of, xx. 256.
Hypæpa, coins of, xv. 36, 38.
Hyrcanus II., coins of, xii. 2; xiv. 310—312.

Ialysos, coin of, xiii. 314.
Ichnæ, coins of, xiv. 177, 273; xv. 97.
Illyrian coins, xx. 269.
Imad-ed-din Abu-bekr, coins of, xiii. 301.
Images on Mohammadan coins, xiii. 254.
Indenture of James I., concerning farthing tokens, xvi. 240.
Indian coins, ancient weights of, xiii. 219.
Indian swastika, the, xx. 18.
Inscription, Christian, xvii. 302.
Irish illuminations, xv. 213.
Irish silver coins, xix. 157, 185; xx. 74.
Irish token, xv. 168.
Irish tradesmen's tokens, xvii. 157; xix. 191.
Iron coins from Kashgar, xix. 275.
Iron money of Japan, xx. 174.
IC. XC. on coins, xviii. 179.
Isindos Pamphyliæ, coin of, xiii. 315.
Italian medals, xix. 196.

Jakim, of Bathyra, coin of, xi. 161.
James I., sixpence of, xvi. 152.
James I., coins of, xvi. 165.
James I., farthing tokens of, xvi. 235.
James I., Irish coins of, xix. 185.
James I. of Scotland, coins of, xv. 159; medal of, xvii. 58.
James I. and II. of Scotland, coins of, xv. 159, 160.
James I., II., III., and IV. of Scotland, coinage of, xii. 100, 242.
James II., coins of, xvii. 74, 360.
James II., Scottish medal of, xviii. 295.
James III. of Scotland, gold medal of, xii. 261.
James III. of Scotland, medal of, xvii. 58.
James IV. of Scotland, xiii. 41.
James IV. of Scotland, coins of, xv.

160, 161; medals of, xvii. 59, 60.
James V. of Scotland, coins of, xiii. 50; xv. 166.
James V. of Scotland, medal of, xvii. 61.
James VI. of Scotland, coins of, xi. 287; xii. 239; xiv. 119, 229; xv. 165.
James VI. of Scotland, medals of, xvii. 71, 72.
James VI., mint accounts in Scotland, xix. 66.
James VII. of Scotland, coins of, xiv. 325; xix. 124.
James VIII. of Scotland (the elder Pretender), coins of, xix. 135.
Japanese iron money, xx. 174.
Jerusalem, coins commemorating the capture of, xvi. 45.
Jerusalem, shekels with the legend, xv. 316.
Jevons, W. Stanley, his "Money, and the Mechanism of Exchange," noticed, xv. 337.
Jewel, currency, xvi. 94.
Jewish coins, xi. 157, 235; xii. 1; xiv. 281; xv. 41, 101, 169, 298; xvi. 45, 81, 177, 315; xviii. 283; xix. 13.
Jewish numismatics, recent works on, xiv. 158; xvi. 222.
Jews, revolts of the, xii. 7.
Johanna and Louis of Naples, coins of, xii. 128.
John Baliol, penny of, xi. 286.
John, Duke of Albany, medal of, xiii. 47.
John Hyrcanus, coins of, xi. 236; xii. 1; xiv. 305.
John I., Zimisces, coins of, xviii. 203, 213.
John II., Comnenus, xviii. 214.
John XXII., Pope, coin of, xii. 155.
John, St., on coins, xviii. 190.
John, St., of Jerusalem, coins of the Order of, xii. 131.
Jonathan - Alexander Jannæus, coins of, xi. 238.
Jones, Paul, medal of, xx. 258.
Jovian, coins of, xviii. 40.
Judas Aristobulus, coins of, xi. 238; xii. 2; xiv. 305.
Julia Domna, coins of, xi. 192; xvi. 65.
Julia Livia, coins attributed to, xx. 313.
Julia Mæsa, coin of, xi. 192.
Julia Mamæa, coin of, xviii. 119.
Julia Soæmias, coin of, xi. 192.
Julia Titi, coin of, xi. 183.
Julian the Apostate, medallion of, xviii. 38.
Juliopolis, coin of, xiii. 25.
Julius Cæsar, coin of, xi. 187.
Justin I., coins of, xviii. 153, 169, 201; xix. 276.
Justin II., coins of, xviii. 143.
Justinian I., coins of, xviii. 154, 169, 201; xix. 277.
Justinian II., coins of, xviii. 176, 203, 256.

Kakweyhis, coins of the, xv. 231.
Kalliope and Hermæus, coins of, xii. 168.
ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ, coins with the legend, xi. 70, 88.
Kamnaskires (?), coin of, xiii. 185.
Karā-Arslán Beg, coin of, xvi. 269.
Karā-Arslán El Melik El Mudhaffer, coins of, xiii. 379.
Karmati princes, coins of the, xix. 74.
Karthago, the inscription, xviii. 142.
Kashgar, coins from, xix. 274.
Kashgar, geography of, xix. 279.
Kâzirûn, coin struck at, xv. 216.
Kenner, F., "Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian," noticed, xi. 291.
Kent, coins of, xii. 78.
Kenyon, R. L., his new edition of "*Hawkins*," noticed, xvii. 75.
Kesitah, the, xvi. 91.
Khaleefehs, coins of the Eastern, noticed, xv. 244.
Khorásán, revenue of, xiii. 249.
Khusrú I., coins of, xiii. 232.
King's evil, touching for the, xii. 190.
Kirk, A. and I., medals by, xix. 146.
Kobáb, coins of, xiii. 230.
Κοίρανος, the term, xiv. 166.
"Königliche Münzkabinet zu Berlin," noticed, xvii. 367.
Kophene, the ancient kingdom of, xix. 280.
Kutb-ed-din Il Ghazi II., coins of, xiii. 348.

Kutb-ed-din Sukmán II., coins of, xiii. 293.

Labarum, the, xvii. 24.
Lacedæmon, coins of, xiii. 23, 112, 310, 332.
Lacedæmonian alliance with Elis, xix. 234.
Lælianus, coin of, xvii. 109.
Lamia, coins of, xviii. 266; xx. 268.
LAMPROS, Paulos, his work on the coins of Amorgos, noticed, xiii. 125.
Lampsacus, coins of, xv. 265; xvi. 287; xvii. 169; xx. 12.
Laodicea Phrygiæ, coins of, xiii. 38.
Laodicea Ponti (?), coins of, xiii. 121.
Laodike, coin of, xiii. 324.
Larissa Seleucidis, coin of, xiii. 323.
Lauderdale, the Duke of, medals of, xx. 253.
LEE, J. E., his book of Roman Imperial Photographs, noticed, xiv. 156.
LENORMANT, F., his "Monnaies de la Lydie," noticed, xvii. 76.
LENORMANT, F., his "Monnaie dans l'Antiquité," noticed, xviii. 84.
Lens, gold *triens* struck at, xii. 75.
Leo I., coins of, xviii. 48.
Leo IV., coins of, xviii. 202.
Leo VI., coin of, xviii. 207.
Leontini, coins of, xvi. 10.
Leovigild, coins of, xviii. 233, 247.
Lesbos, coins of, xv. 292.
Lessos, coins of, xx. 277.
Leucas, coins of, xiii. 18.
Leyden, coin struck at, xii. 77.
Licinius I., coins of, xvii. 48, 53, 257.
Licinius II., coins of, xvii. 54, 258.
LINCOLN, F. W., unpublished Roman coins in the collection of, xi. 187.
Lioni, the engraver, xix. 209.
Lipara (?), coin of, xiv. 40.
Liverpool Numismatic Society, xi. 156.
Livia, coins attributed to, xx. 311.
Locri, coins attributed to, xix. 218.
Lombard coins, xviii. 251.
London, Anglo-Saxon coins struck at, xii. 79, 80.
London, gold *trientes* struck at, xii. 80.
Loudoun, Earl of, medal of, xviii. 78.
Lucilla, coin of, xi. 191.
Luitprand, coins of, xviii. 254.
Lycceios, coin of, xv. 20.
Lycia, coins of, xi. 168; xx. 47.
Lydia, coins of, xv. 256, 258.
Lydian Standard, the, xv. 250.
"Lydie, Monnaies de la," by M. Lenormant, noticed, xvii. 76.
Lysimachus, coins of, struck at Ephesus, xx. 126, 129.

Macarea Syrticæ, coin of, xiii. 328.
Macedon, coins of, bearing solar symbols, xx. 53, 270.
Macedonian coins, M. Bompois' work on, noticed, xvii. 77.
Macedonian coins of the Seleucidæ, xviii. 90.
Macrinus, coin of, xi. 186.
MADDEN, F. W., his "Guide to the Electrotypes at Brighton College," noticed, xviii. 302.
Magdalen, Queen of Scotland, medal of, xvii. 62.
Magistrates' names on ancient coins, xvii. 166; xx. 85 *et seqq.*
Magnentius, coins of, xviii. 36.
Magnesia, Seljuk coins struck in, xii. 149, 156.
Magnia Urbica, coin of, xvii. 137.
Magnus I., of Denmark, coin of, xvi. 339; xx. 230.
Magnus Maximus, coin of, xiv. 352.
Mahommadan Dynasties during the Khalifate, xx. 262.
Mahomet II., coins of, xviii. 196.
Mallos, coins of, xvii. 88.
Mamertini, the, xvi. 17.
Maneh, the, xvi. 106.
Mansfield, the Earl of, medal of, xx. 258.
Mantineia Arcadiæ, coin of, xiii. 115, 333.
Manubria, Thasian, xiv. 168.
Manuel I., coin of, xviii. 206.
Marathus, coins of, xvii. 188.
Marcian, gold coin of, xviii. 47.
Marcianopolis, coins of, xiii. 19.
Marcus Aurelius, coins of, xi. 185, 189.

Marcus Aurelius, coins of, struck at Elis, xix. 273.
Maria family, coin of, xx. 317.
Marius, coins of, xi. 173; xvii. 110.
Maronea, coins of, xiii. 21; xviii. 303.
Marsal, *triens* struck at, xii. 74.
Marwani prince, coin of a, xix. 80.
Mary of Scotland, coins of, xii. 239; xiii. 134; xv. 162, 164, 166.
Mary of Scotland, medals of, xvii. 63 *et seqq.*
Matasunda, coins of, xviii. 158.
Mauricius, Tiberius, coins of, xviii. 230.
Maxentius, coins of, xviii. 198, 215.
Maximianus, coins of, xvii. 139.
Maximianus Hercules, coins of, xiv. 93.
Maximianus Hercules, coin-moulds of, xi. 36.
"Médaillons de l'Empire Romain," by Froehner, noticed, xix. 217.
Medallions, Roman, xiv. 270; xvii. 334; xix. 217.
Medals, the Ashantee and Best-Shot, xv. 167.
Medals, Culloden, xv. 90.
Medals, Naval, of the Commonwealth, xv. 81; xvi. 158.
Medals, Scottish, xvii. 57; xviii. 73, 291; xix. 142; xx. 253.
Megiste Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 315.
"Mélanges de Numismatique," noticed, xiv. 269; xviii. 83; xx. 180.
Melos, coin of, xiii. 120.
Menander, drachma of, xix. 275.
Menvy, *triens* struck at, xii. 77.
Merovingian coins, xii. 72; xviii. 67, 216; xix. 26, 57.
Mesembria, coins of, xx. 59.
Messana, coins of, xvi. 7, 12.
Messenia, coin of, xiii. 112.
Metallic history of Scotland, xvii. 57; xviii. 73, 291; xix. 142; xx. 253.
Metapontum, coin of, xiii. 97.
Metrology of electrum coins, xv. 245.
Metz, coins struck at, xii. 73, 74.
Michael VII., coin of, xviii. 206.
Michael VIII., coin of, xviii. 210.
Michael, St., on coins, xvii. 189, 253, 257.
Michel V. of Wallachia, xvi. 161.
Midian, coins from, xviii. 283.
Miletus, coins of, xv. 263 *et seqq.*
Milled English coins, xvii. 73, 347, 353.
Milled Scottish coins, xix. 108, 138.
Mina, the, xv. 247.
Minoa, coin of, xiii. 125.
Mint Accounts, Scotland, xix. 66.
Mint-marks of Charles I., xvi. 137.
Mint-marks on coins of Diocletian and Maximian, xiv. 269; xv. 335.
Mint-marks upon Italian coins, xviii. 151.
Mint-marks upon Merovingian coins, xviii. 225.
Mints, list of Edward the Confessor's, xvi. 340.
Mite, in Scripture, xvi. 204.
Mithradates, Ephesian coins of his time, xx. 152.
Mithradates of Armenia, coins of, xi. 222.
Mithradates III. of Pontus, coin of, xi. 167.
Moabite stone, the, xi. 202.
Mohammadan coins, images on, xiii. 254.
Mohammadan dynasties, scheme of the, xx. 262.
Moldavia, xvi. 165.
Molossi, coin of, xiii. 108.
Monetary system of the Greeks of Bactriana, Ariana, and India, xiii. 187.
Money-changers in Scripture, xvi. 208.
Moneyers of Edward the Confessor, list of, xvi. 375.
Moneyers, Saxon, xx. 68.
Moneyers of the Stamford mint, list of, xx. 221.
Mongols, coins of, xx. 320.
Mongols in Persia, coins of, xx. 320.
Montrose, the Marquess of, medal of, xx. 253.
Mopsus, coins of, xiii. 34.
Mostene Lydiæ, coin of, xiii. 319.
Mostis, king of Thrace, xvi. 299.
Mouche à Miel, medal of the Order of the, xvi. 396.
Moulds for coins, ancient Roman, xi. 28.
Mousa, Armenian queen, coin of, xi. 219.
Mummehid-ed-dawleh, coin of, xix. 80.
Murād-ibn-Selīm, dīnar of, xvi. 271.
Muwahhids, coins of the, xiii. 147.

Myconos, coin of, xiii. 120.
Mylasa Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 313.
MYN, Illyrian coins reading, xx. 294, 299.
Mytilene Lesbi, coin of, xiii. 311.

Naples, mediæval coins of, xii. 122.
Napoleon I., his medals for the intended invasion of England, xii. 266.
Narberth, token of, xv. 168.
Narses, coins of, xii. 112.
Nasir-ed-din Mahmud, coins of, xiii. 296.
Nasir-ed-din Urtuk-Arslân, coins of, xiii. 358.
Naval Medals of the Commonwealth, xv. 81; xvi. 158.
Neapolis Apuliæ, coin of, xiii. 95.
Neapolis Campaniæ, coin of, xiii. 95.
Nejm-ed-din Alpi, coins of, xiii. 343.
Nejm-ed-din Ghâzi, coins of, xiii. 375.
Neo-Cæsarea, coins of, xiii. 24.
Nepotian, coins of, xviii. 35.
Nero, coins of, xi. 183, 187.
Nero, Jewish coins of, xv. 191.
Nerva, coin of, xi. 187.
Nicæa, coins of, xiii. 26.
Nicephorus II., coins of, xviii. 213.
Nickel in coins, xiii. 189.
Nicomedia, coin of, xiii. 27.
Nicopolis, coins of, xiii. 20.
Nike, on coins, xix. 231.
Nimbus, the, on coins, xviii. 9, 178.
Nineveh, coins of, xiii. 40.
Northumbrian coins, xiv. 94; xx. 62.
Norwegian coins, weights of, xi. 45, 61.
Norwich penny of Canute, xix. 220; xx. 226.
Numerals, on Roman colonial coins, xvi. 307.
Numerianus, coins of, xvii. 137.
Numismata Orientalia, the International, noticed, xiv. 160; xvii. 366.
"Numismatique de l'Orient Latin," noticed, xviii. 259.
"Numismatische Zeitschrift," noticed, xi. 289; xii. 214; xv. 87, 334; xvi. 74, 75; xvii. 79; xviii. 83; xix. 84, 216; xx. 179.
Nur-ed-din Mohammad, coins of, xiii. 290.
Nysa, Cappadocian, coin of, xvii. 79.

OB, the letters, on Byzantine coins, xiii. 172; xx. 178.
Ococlea, coins of, xiii. 38.
Odessus, coins of, xiii. 21.
Oea Syrticæ, coin of, xiii. 328.
Offa, coins of, xv. 196, 206; xix. 60.
Olba, coins of, xiii. 35.
Olive-wreath on coins, xix. 231.
Olympia, the nymph, xix. 249, 256.
Olympic Festival, the, xix. 232.
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΝ, the legend, xix. 236.
Olynthus, coins of, xiii. 104; xviii. 85.
Ommeyade dynasty, coin of the, xi. 256.
ON, meaning of that word upon Anglo-Saxon coins, xx. 68.
Orbiana, coin of, xi. 192.
Orchomenos, coins of, xiii. 110, 160, 309, 331.
Oreskii, coins of, xiii. 105.
Oriental coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the, noticed, xv. 244; xvii. 78.
Oriental coins in the Copenhagen Museum, xvi. 267.
"Orientalische Münzen zu Odessa," noticed, xvi. 395.
Ornaments, gold, xvii. 312.
Orophernes II., coin of, xi. 19.
Orthagoria, coin of, xx. 56.
Orthosia Phœniciæ, coin of, xiii. 323.
Ostrogothic coins, xviii. 132, 149.
Otacilia, coin of, xvii. 100.
Otrus, coins of, xiii. 38.

Pæonia, coins of, xv. 20.
Pale, coin of, xiii. 112.
Palestine, Phœnician coins of, xvii. 221.
Pandosia Bruttiorum, coins of, xiii. 98, 100.
Pandosia Epiri, coins of, xiii. 108.
Papal States, coins of the, xii. 155, 156.
Paris, gold coins struck at, xii. 74, 77.
Pasti, Matteo, medal-engraver, xix. 203.
Pautalia, coins of, xiii. 21.
Pavia, coin of, xviii. 161.
Penny, the, in Scripture, xvi. 189.

Pepin, coins of, xix. 57.
Perga, coin of, xiii. 30.
Pergamus, coin of, xiii. 123, 333.
Perinthus, coins of, xiii. 22.
Persepolitan coins, xix. 4.
Perseus, coins of, xx. 55.
Persia, coins of, xiii. 323.
Persian coins in Judæa, xvi. 107.
Pessinus, coins of, xiii. 39; xvi. 79.
Peterborough, coins struck for, xx. 220.
Phahaspes, supposed king of Persepolis, xix. 6.
Phanes, coin of, xviii. 262.
Pharia, coins struck at, xx. 297.
Pharnakes I., coin of, xiii. 121.
Pharos, coin of, xiii. 107.
Phialea, coins of, xiii. 23.
Phidias' statue of Zeus, xix. 269.
Philadelphia Lydiæ, coins of, xiii. 38, 319.
Philetærian tetradrachms of Ephesus, xx. 144.
Philetærus, coin of, xiii. 123, 333; xx. 144.
Philip of Bathyra, coin of, xi. 160.
Philip of Macedon, his connection with Elis, xix. 250.
Philip II., of Macedon, coins of, xi. 230; xx. 7.
Philip III., of Macedon, coins of, xi. 230.
Philip V., of Macedon, coins of, xx. 55.
Philip II. (Roman Emperor), coins of, xi. 186.
Philippopolis Arabiæ, coins of, xiii. 40.
Philippopolis Thraciæ, coins of, xiii. 22.
Philippus, coin of, xvii. 100.
Philistis, coins of, xiv. 65.
Philomelium, coin of, xiii. 38.
Phintias, of Agrigentum, xvi. 17.
Phocæa, coins of, xv. 291.
Phocaic Standard, the, xv. 252, 281.
Phocas, coin of, xii. 73.
Phocis, coin of, xiii. 108.
Phœnician coins, xi. 11; xii. 66, 221; xvii. 177.
Phœnician forms of writing, xi. 203.
Phœnician legends, xviii. 100 *et seqq.*
Phœnician Standard, the, xv. 249.
Pingo, T., medals by, xix. 145.
Pins, Roger de, coins of, xii. 139.
Pionia, coin of, xiii. 123.
Pisa, near Elis, coins of, xix. 247.
Pisano or Pisanello, the medallist, xix. 199.
Pixodaros, coin of, xiii. 314.
Platon, king of Bactriana, coin of, xv. 1; xvi. 79.
Plautiana or Plautilla, coins of, xv. 34.
P L N, the exergual letters, xiv. 81.
Plumes on English coins, xvii. 353.
Pœmaneni, coin of, xiii. 28.
Polemon II., coin of, xiii. 121.
Polycletus, the sculptor, xix. 244.
Pomedello, the medallist, xix. 206.
Pompeiopolis, coin of, xiii. 35.
Pontefract, gold siege piece of, xvii. 168.
Pontus, unique tetradrachm of, xvii. 78.
Poole, Stanley E. L., his Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum, noticed, xv. 244; xvii. 78.
Poole, Stanley E. L., his paper on "Inedited Arabic Coins," noticed, xv. 336.
Populonia, coins of, xiii. 93.
Portcullis, the, on coins, xviii. 286.
Postumus, coins of, xi. 172; xvii. 108.
Postumus, medallion of, xvii. 334.
Potters' stamps, xiv. 168.
Prix de Numismatique, the, xv. 338; xx. 180.
Probus, coins of, xv. 335; xvii. 133.
Probus, medallion of, xvii. 339.
Procolitia, discovery of Roman altars and coins at, xix. 85.
Proconnesus, coin of, xiii. 123.
Proconsular Cistophori of Ephesus, xx. 156.
Procopius, coins of, xviii. 41.
Procurators, the coins of the Jewish, xv. 169.
Procurators, Table of Jewish, xv. 194.
Prokesch-Osten, Count, his cabinet purchased by the Berlin museum, xv. 243.
Proni, coin of, xiii. 112.
Prusa ad Olympum, coin of, xiii. 27.
Prusia ad Hypium, coin of, xiii. 27.

Prytaneis, or magistrates of Ephesus, list of the, xx. 170.
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ, coins with the legend, xi. 70, 84.
Ptolemy I., coins of, xi. 231.
Ptolemy IV., coin of, xiii. 325.
Punch-marked Indian coins, xiii. 207.
Pyrrhos, coins of, xiv. 55.

Quentovic, coins struck at, xii. 75; xix. 36; xx. 199.
Quintillus, coins of, xi. 174; xvii. 130.
Quintus Julius Gallienus (?), supposed coins of, xvii. 108.

Radelchis, coins of, xviii. 258.
Ram, on coins, xi. 13.
Ravenna, coins of, xviii. 156, 163.
Rebah, the, xvi. 88.
Rebellion of 1745, medals relating to the, xix. 142.
Reccaredus I., coins of, xviii. 247.
Revolts of the Jews, coins of the, xi. 250; xii. 7; xv. 298; xix. 15.
"Revue Numismatique," notices of, xii. 60; xiv. 267.
"Revue de la Numismatique Belge," notices of, xi. 153, 288; xii. 61, 212; xiii. 171, 302; xiv. 156, 270; xv. 88.
Rhegium, coins of, xiii. 100, 332; xvi. 7; xx. 1.
Rhescuporis I., coin of, xiii. 121.
Rhizon, Illyrici, coins of, xx. 292.
Rhodes, coins struck at, xii. 131; xviii. 271.
Rhodian standard, the, xx. 110.
Richard II., English silver coins of, xii. 223; xvi. 151.
Ring-money, xvi. 94.
RISINGE, the mint of, xix. 219.
Rithymna, coin of, xiii. 119.
PKE, the mark, xviii. 144.
Robert I. of Naples, coins of, xii. 124.
Robert I. and II. of Scotland, coinage of, xii. 87.
Robert II. of Scotland, coins of, xv. 157, 158, 163.
Robert III. of Scotland, coinage of, xii. 99; pennies of, xv. 163.
Rodez, in Aquitaine, coin struck at, xii. 78.
Rogers, E. T., letter of M. H. Sauvaire to, xiii. 335.
Rogers, E. T., his paper on Abbasside coins, noticed, xv. 336.
Roma Invicta, coins of, xviii. 158, 162.
Roman coins found at Baconsthorpe, xx. 75.
Roman coins found at Blackmoor, xvii. 90.
Roman coins found at Bulwick, xix. 219.
Roman coins found at Knapwell, xvii. 167.
Roman coins found at Lavenham, xv. 140.
Roman coins found at Lutterworth, xi. 169.
Roman coins found at Procolitia, xix. 85.
Roman coins of Syracuse, xiv. 75.
Roman coins relating to Britain, xiv. 81.
Roman coins, tabular view of various finds of, xi. 175.
Roman copper coins, finds of, xiv. 352.
Roman imperial coins, list of unpublished varieties, xi. 182.
Roman imperial photographs, Mr. Lee's book of, noticed, xiv. 156.
Roman medallions, xiv. 270; xvii. 334; xix. 217.
Romanus II., coins of, xviii. 204.
Romanus IV., coins of, xviii. 212.
Rukn-ed-din Moûd, coins of, xiii. 300.
Russian Numismatic Glossary, xiv. 339.

Sabæan coins, xviii. 273.
Sabina, coins of, xi. 188.
Saffaris, inedited coin of the, xiii. 169.
Saiga, the, xix. 29.
Saka king, the, xiv. 161.
Salamis, staters struck at, xi. 230.
Sales of coins and medals:—
Baron Heath's collection, xx. 83.
Bergne collection, xiii. 304.
Chetwynd collection, xii. 219.
General Moore's collection, xx. 82.
Jackson collection, xii. 219.
Lake Price collection, xx. 337.
Lord Hastings' collection, xx. 340.
Scottish coins, xiii. 176.
Sparkes collection, xx. 77.
Wakeford collection, xx. 84.
War medals, xx. 81.

Salih Ebn Merdas, coin of, xiii. 335.
Salinas, A., "Le Monete di Sicilia," noticed, xi. 291.
SALLET, Dr. Alfred von, his new magazine, xiii. 303.
SALLET, Dr. Alfred von, his work on Bactrian coins, noticed, xviii. 302.
Salonina, coins of, xi. 171; xvii. 106.
Saloninus, coins of, xi. 171; xvii. 107.
Same, coins of, xiii. 112.
Samos, coins of, xv. 265 *et seqq.*
Sanabares, coins of, xi. 217.
SANDEMAN, Colonel J. G., his unpublished coin of Olynthus, xviii. 85.
Sapor, coins of, xii. 55.
Sapor II., coins of, xii. 272.
Sapor III., coins of, xii. 277.
Sarawak, coins of, xx. 336.
Sardes, coins of, xv. 264, 282.
Sassanian coins, xii. 33, 105, 271; xiii. 220.
SAULCY, F. de, his "Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte," noticed, xiv. 158; xvi. 315.
SAULCY, F. de, his paper on Jewish coins in vol. xi. reviewed by Mr. Madden, xii. 1.
Saurus, the bandit, xix. 230.
Saxons, the, their settlement in England and their coinage, xix. 37 *et seqq.*
Sceattas, types of the, xix. 43.
Sceaux, Louise Baronne de, medal of, xvi. 396.
Schevez, Archbishop, medal of, xviii. 74.
Schlumberger's "Numismatique de l'Orient Latin," noticed, xviii. 259.
"Scotland, Records of the Coinage of," by Mr. Cochran-Patrick, noticed, xvi. 395.
Scottish coins, xi. 283; xii. 16, 83, 235, 242; xiii. 41, 134, 176; xiv. 118, 229, 317; xv. 157; xix. 66, 108, 138.
Scottish coins, finds of, xvi. 76; xvii. 80, 308.
Scottish medals, xvii. 57; xviii. 73, 291; xix. 142; xx. 253.
Seals, the Irish ones of Henry VIII., xix. 178.
Sebastopolis Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 313.
Segesta, coins of, xiii. 102, 309.
Seleucia ad Calycadnum, coins of, xiii. 35.
Seleucidæ, coins of the early, xx. 189.
Seleucidæ, Macedonian and Greek coins of the, xviii. 90.
Seleukos I., coins of, xiii. 322.
Selinus, coins of, xvi. 12.
Seljuk dynasty, coins of the, xii. 143.
Selymbria (?), coin of, xv. 266.
ΣΗΜΑ, the word, xviii. 263.
Septimius Severus, coins of, xi. 192; xiv. 86.
Septimius Severus, coins of, struck at Elis, xix. 273.
Ser, the legend, xiii. 101, 332.
Seraph on coins, xviii. 191.
Serdica, coins of, xiii. 22.
Sermyle, a coin of, xix. 83.
Sesostris, statues of, xx. 88.
Seton, Lord, medal of, xviii. 119.
Severina, coins of, xvii. 132.
SHARP, Samuel, Esq., inquiry for coins of Stamford, xix. 153.
Shekel, the, of the Bible, xvi. 82.
Shekels, &c., attributed to Simon Maccabæus, xiv. 282, 304.
Shekels of the first year, xvi. 120.
Shekel of the year 5, xvi. 322.
Shekel, half-, of the year 4, xix. 13.
Shield, the Macedonian, xx. 56.
Shîrâz, coin struck at, xv. 229.
Short-Cross Question, the, xv. 144, 152.
Sicaredus, coins of, xviii. 258.
Sicilian coins, xvi. 1.
Sicilian coins, Prof. Salinas's work on, noticed, xi. 291.
Sicilian copper coins, find of, xix. 217.
Sicyon, coin of, xiii. 183.
Side, coins of, xiii. 30.
Sidon, coins of, xvii. 195.
Siefred, of Denmark, xx. 201.
Siege-piece of Charles II., xvii. 168.
Sigebert I., coin of, xviii. 237.
Sigebert II., coins of, xviii. 242.
Sigo, coins of, xviii. 257.
Σικύα or σικυία, the, xiii. 128.
Sillyum, coins of, xiii. 31.
Simon, the inscription, xiv. 293.
Simon, Abraham, medals engraved by, xviii. 77—80.
Simon Bar-cochab, coins of, xi. 250; xv. 321; xix. 15.

Simon Maccabæus, coins of, xiv. 282, 304.
Simon Nasi, coins of, xv. 317.
Simon, Thomas, the engraver, xv. 82.
Simon, Thomas, engraves dies for Scottish coins, xiv. 320.
Simon, Thomas, his coins of Charles II., xix. 92, 119.
Simon, Thomas, his connection with Guernsey, xiv. 107.
Simon, Thomas, Scottish medals, engraved by, xviii. 293, 294.
Sinope, coins of, xiii. 122.
Six, J. P., letter from, to Mr. Head, xvii. 169.
Skepsis, coins of, xiii. 124.
Skodra, coins of, xx. 269.
Smyrna, coins of, xiii. 29.
C N., the mark, xviii. 144.
Snelling's 72 plates of coins, xiv. 159.
Société Française de Numismatique, the "Annuaire" of, noticed, xi. 154.
Solar Symbols, xx. 18, 49.
Soli Ciliciæ, coin of, xiii. 317.
Somers Islands Hog-money, xvi. 153; xviii. 166.
Somersetshire tokens, xix. 99.
Spanish coins, M. Heiss's work on, noticed, xi. 292.
Sperandio, medal-engraver, xix. 203.
Sphinx, on coins, xi. 11.
Stafford mint, coins of the, xx. 66, 208.
Stag, on coins of Ephesus, xx. 112 *et seqq.*
Stamford mint, coins of the, xx. 205.
Stars on coins, xx. 55.
Stater, the, of the New Testament, xvi. 185.
Stephen, coins of, xix. 219; xx. 73.
Stirling, the mint at, xii. 238.
Straton, presumed coin of, xv. 2.
Stycas, struck in silver, xx. 62.
Stymphalus, coins of, xiii. 115.
Sub-Parthian coins, xii. 42.
Suevian coins, xviii. 67.
Συλλοχιταί, the word, xv. 71.
ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ, the legend, xiv. 37.
ΣΥΝ, on coins of Ephesus, xx. 110.
Sun-symbols on coins, xx. 43, 49.
Sun-worship, the symbols of, xx. 19.
Susiana, coin of, xiii. 185.
Swastika, the Indian and Western forms of the, xx. 18.
Swedish coins, weights of, xi. 45, 60.
Swynford, Dame Katherine, xviii. 287.
Syracuse, coins of, xiii. 103; xiv. 1; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 16; xix. 217; xx. 46.
Syria, coins of, xx. 181.

Taba Cariæ, coin of, xiii. 314.
Tabala Lydiæ, coin of, xiii. 319.
Tabriz, coins struck at, xx. 320.
Tacitus, coins of, xvii. 132.
Talent, the, xvi. 105.
Tambrace, coin with supposed monogram of, xi, 213, 217.
Tamworth, coins minted at, xx. 70.
Tarentum, coins of, xiii. 95; xx. 15.
Tarsus, coins of, xiii. 35.
Tauromenium, coin of, xiv. 36.
Tavium, coins of, xiii. 39.
Teanum Campaniæ, coins of, xiii. 95.
Tebbs, H. Virtue, his papers on Greek coins in the "*Portfolio*," noticed, xv. 88.
Tegea, coin of, xiii. 116.
Telephus, coin of, xii. 167, 178.
Telesphorus, takes Elis, xix. 255.
Tenos (?), coin of, xiii. 330.
Teos, coins of, xiii. 29; xv. 282.
Termessos Pisidiæ, coin of, xiii. 316.
"Terre-Sainte, Numismatique de la," by Mons. de Saulcy, noticed, xiv. 158; xvi. 315.
Testaments, Money in the Old and New, xvi. 81, 177.
Tetricus, coins of, xi. 173; xvii. 111.
Tetricus, junior, coins of, xi. 173; xvii. 120.
Teuthis, coin of, xiii. 111.
Thasian Manubria, xiv. 168.
Thasos, coins of, xvi. 299; xx. 5.
Thasos or Thrace, coin of, xv. 283.
ΘΕΑ ΙΑΕΑ, the legend, xvi. 79.
Theia, coins of, xviii. 161.
Theodahatus, coins of, xviii. 156.
Theodebert I., coins of, xviii. 235.
Theodebert II., coin of, xviii. 240.
Theodora, coins of, xvii. 265; xviii. 204.

Theodore, St., on coin, xviii. 190.
Theodoric I., coins of, xviii. 152, 164.
Theodoric II., coins of, xviii. 240.
Theodoric III., coins of, xviii. 244.
Theodosius I., coins of, xviii. 41.
Thermæ, coins of, xiv. 37; xvi. 13.
Thessalia, coins of, xiii. 23.
THOMAS, Edward, F.R.S., his "Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi, noticed, xi. 67.
Thrace, coins of, xiv. 206.
Thrace, coins of, with solar symbols, xx. 49.
Thracian, Ares, the, xx. 60.
Thrasamund, coins of, xviii. 138.
Thunderbolt on coins, xix. 227.
Thyatira, coin of, xv. 35.
Thyatira Lydiæ, coin of, xiii. 319.
Tiberius, coins of, xi. 183; xvi. 183; xx. 313.
Tiberius, Jewish coins of, xv. 181.
Tiberius II. Constantine, coin of, xviii. 201.
Tiflis, coins of a Mughal governor of, xix. 81.
Timoleon, coins of, xiv. 24; xvi. 14.
Tin coins, English, xvii. 358.
Tin coins of William and Mary, xviii. 304.
Tincommius, coins of, xvii. 324.
Tingis Mauretaniæ, coin of, xiii. 328.
Titus, coins of, xi. 187; xv. 143.
Titus, Jewish coins of, xvi. 47.
Tokens, Devonshire, xvi. 247.
Tokens, Somersetshire, xix. 99.
Tokens, tradesmen's, xv. 168; xvi. 247; xvii. 157; xix. 99, 191; xx. 234.
Tokens, Yorkshire, xx. 234.
Tokens with the name of Hoare, xx. 332.
Tomi, coins of, xiii. 20; xvi. 307.
Topirus, coins of, xiii. 22.
Touch-pieces, xii. 190.
Tower mint, coins of Charles I. struck at the, xvi. 133.
Trajan, coins of, xi. 183; xv. 143; xviii. 121; xix. 219.
Trajanopolis, coins of, xiii. 23.
Trapezus, coins of, xi. 167; xiii. 24.
Traquair, Earl of, medal of, xviii. 77.
Treasure-trove, remarks on the law of, xi. 176.
Treasury in Scripture, xvi. 215.
Trebonianus Gallus, coins of, xi. 192; xvii. 101.
Trent College, notice of the collection of electrotypes at, xvi. 398.
Tribute money, Jewish, xvi. 178.
Tricca, coin of, xiii. 105.
TPIH, the inscription, on Greek coins, xi. 162; xiii. 1; xiv. 267.
Trieros (?), coins of, xiii. 18.
Triquetra, the, on coins, xx. 46.
Trocmi, coins of, xiii. 39.
Trœzen, coin of, xiii. 114.
Tuder Umbriæ, coins of, xiii. 94.
Τυραννοῦντος, the term, xiv. 165.
TYPPH, the legend, xiv. 39.
Tyndaris, coins of, xvi. 13.
Tyre, coins of, xi. 6; xiii. 40; xvii. 189.

Udine, forgeries of coins made at, xv. 243.
Ujjain, coins of, xx. 45.
Uranius Antoninus, coins of, xvi. 67.
Uranopolis, coin of, xviii. 81; xx. 58.
Urbs Roma, coins of, xvii. 270.
Urtukis, coins of the, xiii. 254, 342.

Valens, coins of, xviii. 41.
Valentinian I. and II., coins of, xviii. 41.
Valentinian III., coins of, xviii. 44.
Valerianus, coins of, xi. 171; xvii. 101.
Valerianus, junior, coins of, xvii. 101.
Value, names of, on Greek coins, xiii. 9.
Vandalic coins, xviii. 67, 132, 137.
Vandalic coins, monetary system of the, xviii. 144.
Varahran Chobin, coins of, xiii. 239.
Varahran I., coins of, xii. 107.
Varahran II., coins of, xii. 108.
Varahran III., coins of, xii. 111.
Varahran IV., coins of, xii. 278.
Varahran V., coins of, xii. 284.
Velia, coins of, xiii. 97.
Venice, coin of, xii. 155.
Verica, coins of, xvii. 326.
Vespasian, denarius of, xix. 219.
Vespasian, Jewish coins of, xvi. 46.
Vetranio, coins of, xviii. 35.
Victorinus, coins of, xi. 172; xvii. 109.

Villeneuve, Elion de, coins of, xii. 132.
Virgin Mary on coins, xviii. 183, 207.
Visigothic coins, xviii. 67, 246.
Vitellius, denarius of, xix. 219.
Vologeses, coins of, xiii. 228.
Vologeses I., IV., V., and VI., coins of, xi. 220—225.
Volusianus, coins of, xi. 170; xvii. 101.
Vows, the decennial, xiii. 131.

Wallachia, medal of Michel V. of, xvi. 161.
Wasit, coins struck at, xiii. 55.
Weight-systems of Greece, xv. 247.
Weights formed of glass, xiii. 60.
Weights, Jewish, xvi. 105, 220.
Weights of Bactrian coins, xiii. 191.
Weights of English and northern coins, xi. 42.
Weights of Syracusan coins, xiv. 79.
Weights, tables of English and French, xi. 42; xv. 296.
Western Europe, the coinages of, xviii. 49, 132, 216; xix. 23.
Wheel, a solar symbol, xx. 57.
Wigan collection, Greek coins from the, xiii. 89, 309.
William I. and II., coins of, xi. 227; xvi. 338; xvii. 340; xx. 72, 220.
William III., coins of, xvii. 74, 351, 355.
William III., Scottish coins of, xiv. 330; xix. 129.
William and Mary, coins of, xvii. 362; xviii. 304.
William and Mary, Scottish coins of, xiv. 327; xix. 126.
William and Mary, mint accounts in Scotland, xix. 72.
William IV., coins of, xvii. 74.
William the lion of Scotland, coins of, xi. 284; xii. 22.
Witiges, coins of, xviii. 185.
Wolff, medals by, xix. 143.
Wood, J. T., his discoveries at Ephesus, xii. 120.
Writing, Greek, xvi. 38.
Writing, Jewish, xvi. 221.
Writing, Phœnician, xi. 203.
Wyon, L. C., medals engraved by, xv. 167.

Xenocrates, coin of, xviii. 99.
XLII, the mark, xviii. 145.
XXXX, the mark, xviii. 145.

Yeo, R., the medal engraver, xv. 90; xix. 142.
Yesdegird II., coins of, xii. 282.
Yesdegird III., coins of, xii. 284; xiii. 251.
York, the mint at, xi. 100, 193.
Yorkshire tradesmen's tokens, xx. 234.

Zamarides, coins of the, xi. 157.
Zancle, coins of, xvi. 7.
"Zeitschrift für Numismatik," notices of, xiii. 303; xiv. 155, 351; xv. 85, 243; xvi. 71, 72, 274, 275; xvii. 78; xviii. 81; xix. 82, 83, 216; xx. 177, 178.
Zela, coins of, xiii. 24.
Zeleia Troadis, xv. 283, 287 *et seqq.*
Zephyrion Ciliciæ, coin of, xiii. 317.
Zeus, on the coins of Elis, xix. 226.

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